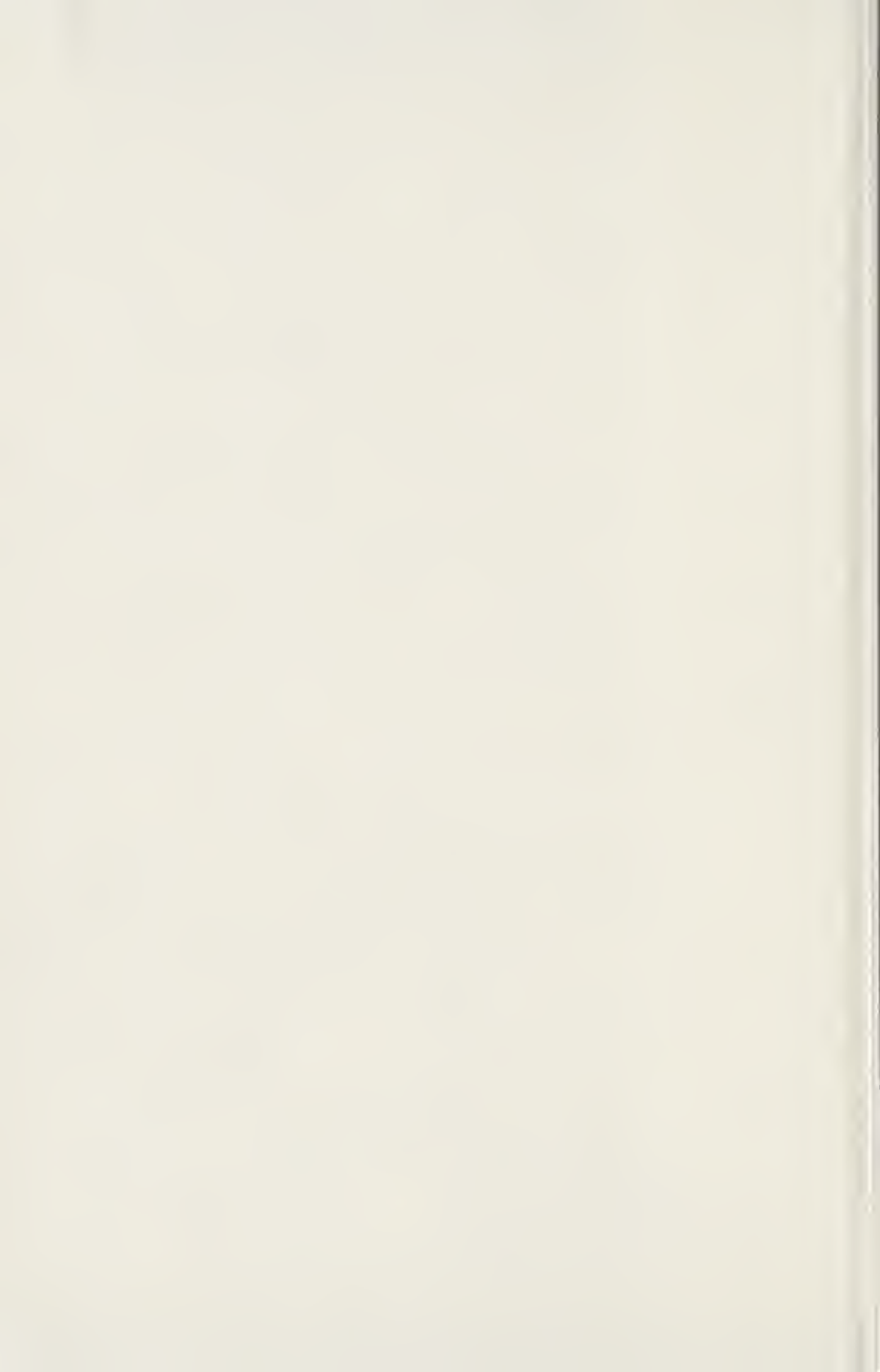
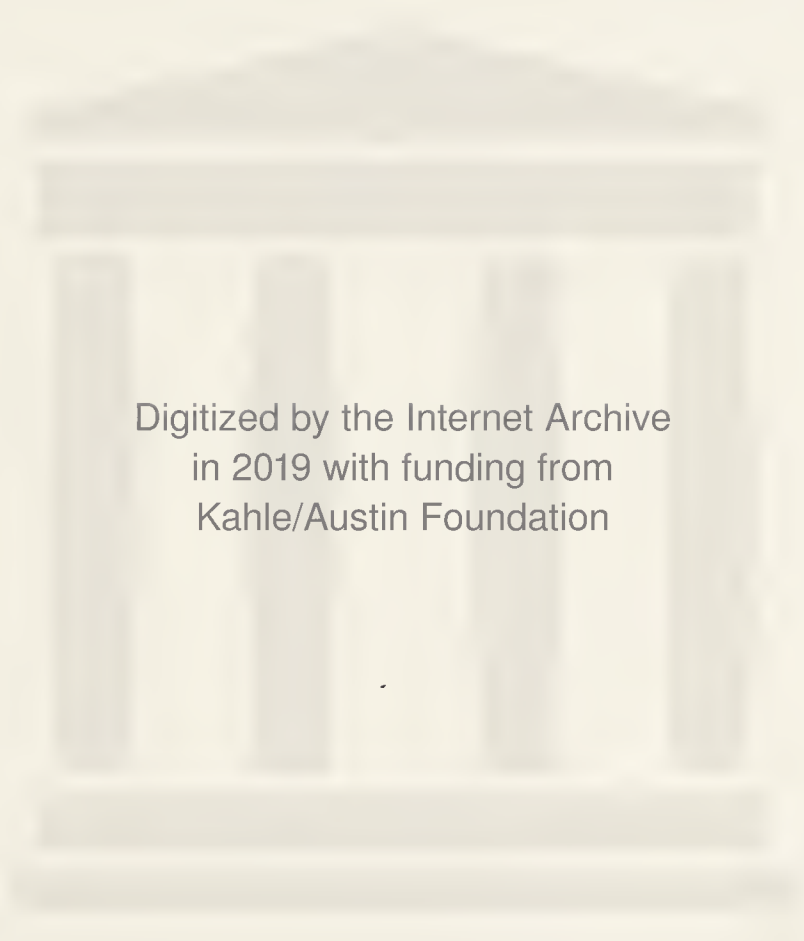






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PIONEER SKETCHES

In the District of Bathurst



"PIONEER SKETCHES
IN THE DISTRICT
OF BATHURST"

THE HONOURABLE
ANDREW HAYDON, M.A.

VOLUME I

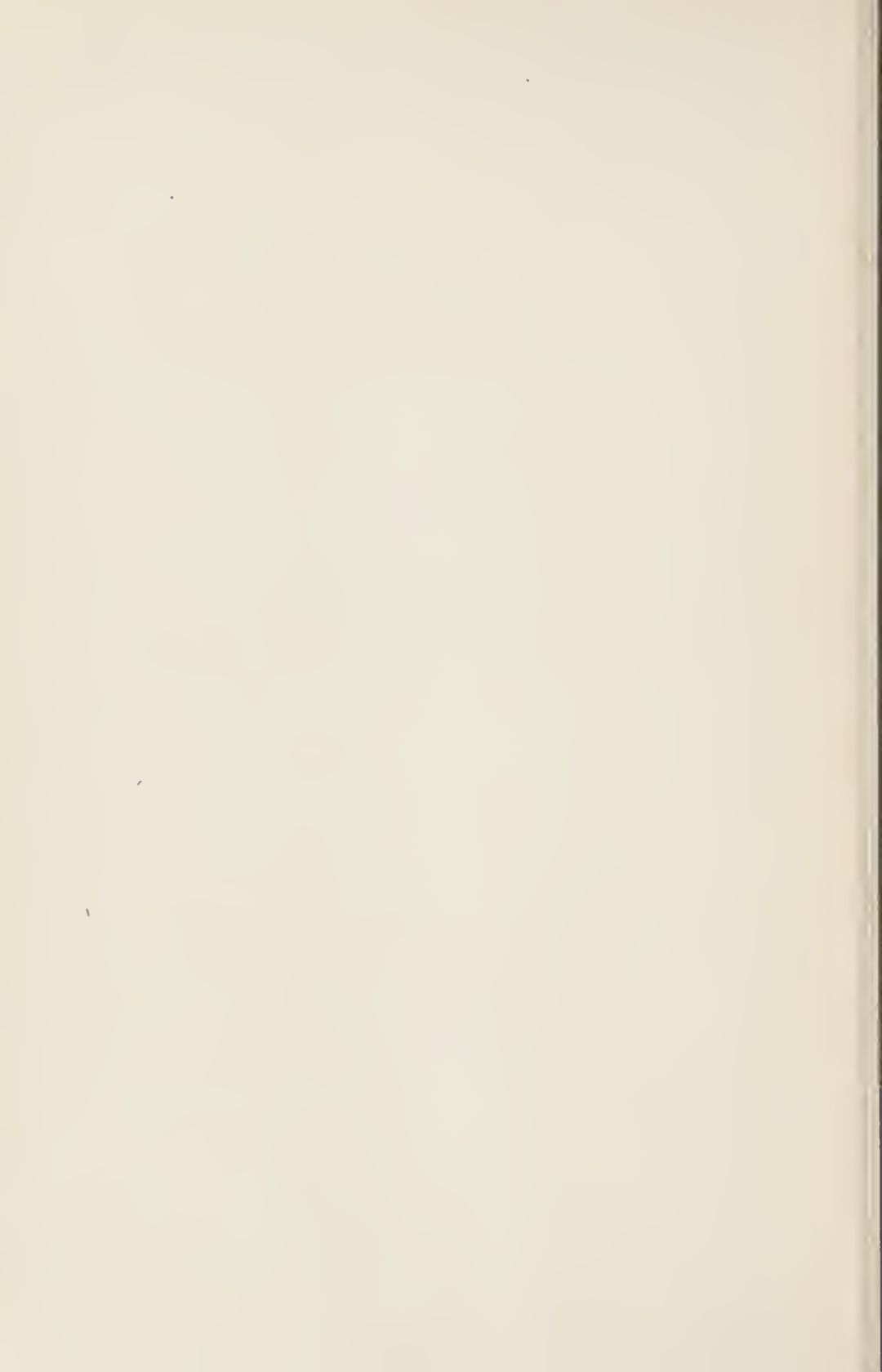
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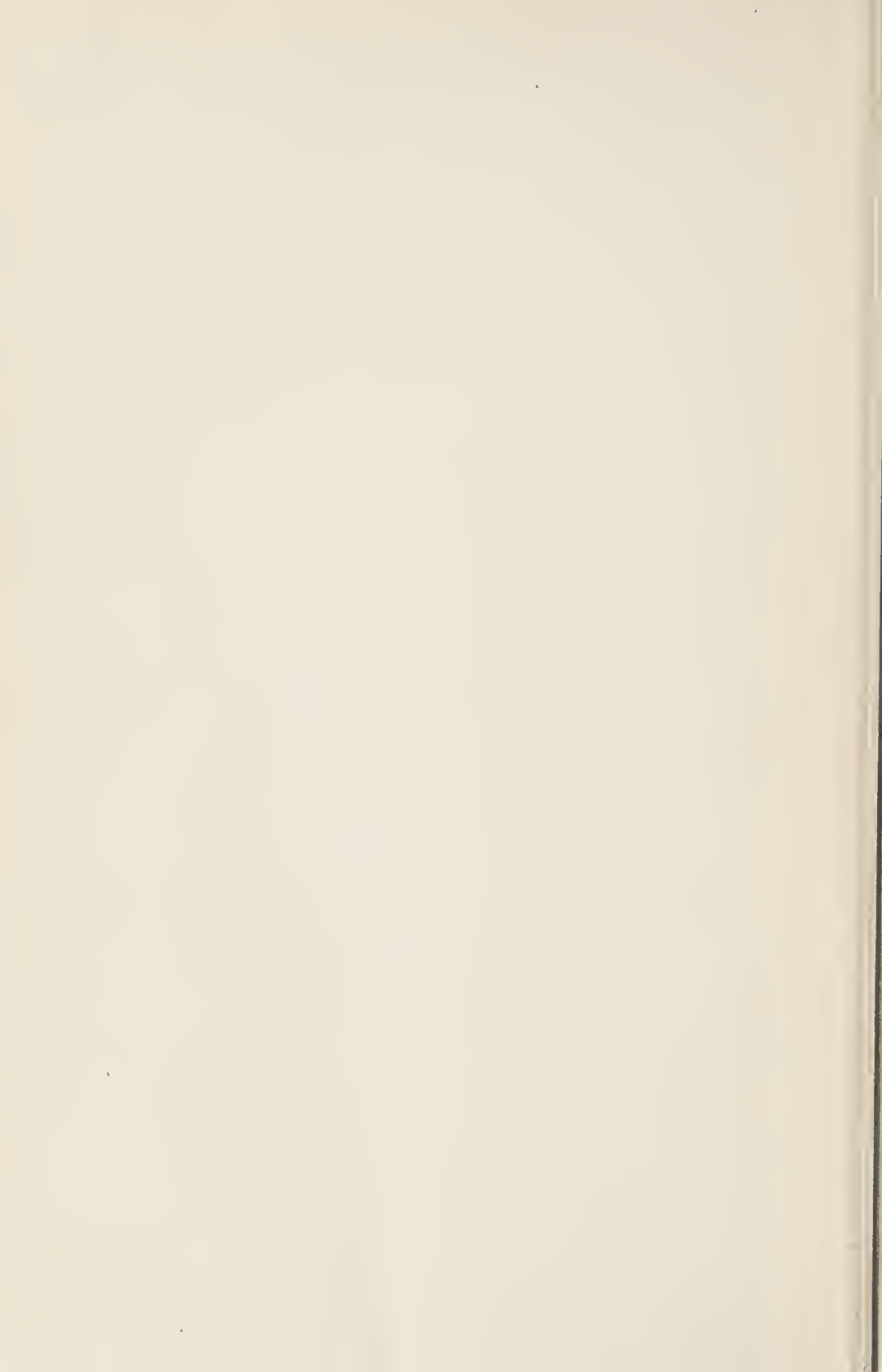
*To my former Professor
and Constant Friend*

DR. ADAM SHORTT



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FOREWORD

The days that have come after the Great War present in our time a series of events in social and political change and expression singularly akin to the manifestations in the wake of the long struggle with Napoleon, one hundred years ago.

The tempest-tossed world of Britain found some relief in the various movements across the Atlantic of a surplus and unemployed population, when Canada, for the first time, welcomed an old land emigration.

The District of Bathurst in this way might be considered as the child of the ruthlessness of Napoleon and of his extravagant ambitions.

These sketches are but suggestions of many similar incidents of that time in Canada and elsewhere, but of none anywhere more interesting.

In their preparation my grateful thanks are offered to Dr. A. G. Doughty, of the Dominion Archives, Dr. Adam Shortt, Chairman of the Board of Historical Publications, Ottawa, the Proprietors of *The Bathurst Courier* at Perth and of *The Almonte Gazette*; to Miss Gemmill, of Sarnia, for the old files of *The Perth Independent Examiner* and *The Lanark Observer*, and to a host of personal friends, who have most kindly given me freely of their records and their information.

Ottawa, June, 1925.



PIONEER SKETCHES

In The District of Bathurst



Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

I

THE DISTRICT OF BATHURST

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR between France and England was concluded by the Treaty of Paris on the tenth of February, 1763, whereby "His Most Christian Majesty cedes and guarantees to His Britannic Majesty, in full right, Canada with all its dependencies."

On the seventh of October, in the same year, a Royal Proclamation, which Chief Justice Mansfield, in the well-known case of Campbell vs. Hall, held to be the Constitution of Canada for the next eleven years, determined the boundaries of that portion of the ceded territory, therein described as "The Government of Quebec."

And when these eleven years had gone by, and the British Parliament had passed The Quebec Act of 1774, the region, described in the Proclamation as "The Government of Quebec," received a vast addition to its area, extending southward to the Ohio River, westward to the Mississippi, and northward to the possessions of The Hudson's Bay Company. This Territory was to be henceforth known as The Province of Quebec, including, as it did, the Ontario of our own day.

Two years later, in 1776, the Province was divided judicially into the two Districts of Quebec and Montreal, the jurisdiction of the latter extending westward to Lake Huron and beyond.

Meanwhile, to the southward, the New England Colonies were in rebellion. Following the Declaration of Independence in 1775, and as a consequence of the Revolution, the United

Empire Loyalists became the pioneer settlers on the lands just north of the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence. Here, in the Eastern part of what is now Ontario, surveys of new townships along the St. Lawrence River began as early as 1783.

In this way the English-speaking settlements on the river to the northwards of Lake Ontario, and farther west, rapidly created conditions for an English-speaking Upper Canada, with the consequent need for new political and judicial designations.

Accordingly, by a Proclamation of Lord Dorchester, issued on the 24th of July, 1788, the District of Montreal, west of the French Seignory of De Longueuil, was divided into the new Districts of Lunenburg, Mechlenburg, Nassau, and Hesse, covering the country from the eastern limit of the present township of Lancaster in the County of Glengarry, westward to the shores of Lake Huron—an area which, except for the southern fringe of settlement here and there, was still the undisputed home of the Indian.

In the session of 1791, the English Parliament passed The Constitutional Act, which became law on the 26th day of December of that year. In view of its provisions, His Majesty, by and with the advice of His Privy Council, had passed an Order-in-Council on the 24th day of August, dividing the Province of Quebec into Upper and Lower Canada. On the 16th day of July in the following year John Graves Simcoe, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Upper Province, issued a Proclamation creating a division into Counties. Here, for the first time, were heard some of the County names so familiar in our day, and among them was that of Carleton, which then comprised parts of what are now the Counties of Lanark and Carleton and the unsurveyed territory to the west—the modern County of Renfrew.

On the 15th of October, 1792, the Legislature of Upper Canada changed the names of the Districts into Eastern, Midland, Home and Western, and Lunenburg became the Eastern District. In area its eastern boundary coincided with the eastern limit of the township of Lancaster and the District extended westerly to the Gananoque River. It was bounded by the St. Lawrence on the south, and extended northerly to

The District of Bathurst

the farthest limits of the Province, as yet unknown and unsurveyed.

The Eastern District remained undisturbed until 1798, when, by a further statutory division, the District of Johnstown was formed in that year, taking away the Counties of Grenville, Leeds and Carleton.

The Rideau Settlements, as they were called, were carved out of the District of Johnstown, and began at Perth, Richmond, and Lanark, in the years between 1815 and 1821, when surveys were also made of new townships in the hinterland. Here the rapid promotion of colonization by the British Government, under military auspices, led to the need for further political and judicial divisions.

By an Act of the Parliament of Upper Canada, passed in the second year of the reign of George the Fourth, it was provided

“That the townships of Goulbourne, Beckwith, Drummond, Bathurst, March, Huntley, Ramsay, Lanark, Dalhousie, North and South Sherbrooke, together with such other townships as may hereafter be surveyed by the direction of the Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, or person administering the Government of this Province, within the present limits of the County of Carleton, shall continue and remain the County of Carleton.”

This was not, of course, anything like the County of Carleton as we know it to-day, since this County, with its present boundaries, did not come into being until after another twenty years had come and gone.

By this Act of 1821 the Governor was also empowered, when he should think fit, to erect this territory into a separate judicial District under his own designation; and on the 13th day of November, 1822, Sir Peregrine Maitland accordingly issued a Proclamation declaring that the County of Carleton should be a separate District by the name of “*Bathurst*,”

“—of all which our loving subjects in this our Province of Upper Canada and elsewhere, and all others whom it may concern, are hereby required to take notice and govern themselves accordingly.”

In 1823 Perth was made the judicial seat.

It seems, indeed, like a far cry from the Seven Years' War to the establishment of the District of Bathurst; yet it may not be without interest to remember that, if the passing of Canada to English ownership came about as a consequence of one great struggle with France, the settlement of the District of Bathurst came also as a consequence of another great struggle between England and her hereditary enemy, ending a half century later on the field of Waterloo.

In rough outline, therefore, it may be said that the old District of Bathurst comprised nearly all the area of the present counties of Lanark and Renfrew, as well as that part of the present County of Carleton lying north and west of the Rideau River.

This District included the establishment of Colonel By, which at a later day became the seat of Canada's Capital. And when, with the inception of the Rideau Canal in the autumn of 1826, Bytown began to emerge from the forest primeval, Perth-on-the-Tay, then in the eleventh year of its existence, had already become a place of some importance as the political, judicial and social capital of the District.

The history of the District of Bathurst still waits to be written. Nowhere in Upper Canada is there a more fertile field for him who seeks to make the past live again, and to link up its happenings with the events of later days.

A well known English writer has explored in fiction the story of the Five Towns. The historian of Bathurst turns to the geography of its Five Rivers—the ancient forest home of Algonquin tribes, whose wigwams once dotted those picturesque tributaries of the Ottawa, still carrying the French or Indian names of Rideau, Mississippi, Madawaska, Bonnechere and Petawawa.

Here were once great forests of white pine that furnished many a "mast of some great ammiral," and which provided huge rafts of magnificent timber, contending for supremacy in the British shipping world against the products of the Baltic shores.

And along the Five Rivers and their tributaries, breaking into innumerable rapids and waterfalls, the hardy and ad-



LORD BATHURST

By courtesy of Dominion Archives

The District of Bathurst

venturous pioneers constructed scores of mills, little and large, around which were clustered scores of hamlets, many of whose locations are marked to-day by the crumbling ruins of an old stone chimney, or otherwise rest but in the dim memories of a rapidly disappearing generation.

With the progress of the settlements and the disappearance of the forests, what are to-day substantial towns and villages overcame the wearing process of the years, and remain to attest the triumphs of progressive communities.

Apart from Philemon Wright's location at Hull, as early as 1798, just across the Ottawa from "Parliament Hill," and except for an occasional adventurer along the Rideau and for a few miles up the western bank of the Ottawa, there was no organized settlement in the District until 1816. In the early summer of that year the British Government, under military auspices, opened a location at Perth, and later in 1818 another at Richmond. And in the immediate years, civil and military establishments laid the foundations of these places and of the townships adjoining.

Along the Ottawa River, in what is now the township of March, Captain John Benning Monk, of His Majesty's 97th Regiment, arrived in June, 1919, a year before the township was surveyed, and became the pioneer settler in this locality by constructing a rude shanty at "Mosquito Cove." He was quickly followed by a group of retired military and naval officers, some of whom had been comrades in arms with Sir John Colborne, whose name is linked with many of the stirring events of Upper Canada's later story. Here, too, came Hamnet Pinhey, the ancestor of more than one of Ottawa's prominent families of to-day.

Under military auspices and military supervision, special emigrations in 1820 and 1821, chiefly from along the Clyde in Scotland, flowed into the townships of North and South Sherbrooke, Dalhousie, Lanark and Ramsay. Destitution in the south of Ireland brought another colony in 1823, under the direction of the Hon. Peter Robinson, to Shipman's Mills on the Mississippi, where, chiefly in Ramsay and in Huntley, in the vicinity of the modern and picturesque town of Almonte,

described in later years as "The Manchester of Canada," the "Ballyghibblins" found a home.

The famous Chief MacNab, attempting to transplant the institution of the Scottish clanship into New World soil, brought his little colony to the mouth of the Madawaska River in June of 1824, and Kinnell Lodge, overlooking the waters of the Ottawa, expanding here into Chats Lake, became the New World prototype of the ancient Old World family seat where the waters of the Dochart empty into Loch Tay. The history of "The MacNab" in his day and generation is quite as enchanting as any romance ever written.

None of the Five Rivers, indeed, is without its special story. There is a tradition, not without the glamour of romance, that the Bonnechere ("the good river") received its name from the early French lumberers by way of contrast with the more tumultuous Madawaska. But whatever the origin, no special settlement was ever carried on the banks of this stream. And when, in comparison with Coyle's earlier shanty, Joseph Brunette, about the year 1824, erected at "the second chute of the Bonnechere" the first building approaching the appearance of a residence, no prophet would have dared to say that the early but abiding foundations of the modern, industrial town of Renfrew could ever have emerged from so modest an origin. Not, however, till around 1830, and onwards, did Renfrew and the surrounding townships begin to present the aspect of settled communities.

Pembroke, looking out over the broad reaches of Allumette Lake, ten miles below the confluence of the Ottawa and the Petawawa, began life like Bytown in a division of an upper and a lower town—the former, New Miramichi; the latter, Campbelltown. The upper town name is said to follow the settlement of a few adventurous souls who fled from the devastating fires in and around the old New Brunswick town of that name, beginning life anew among the waving pine trees of the Upper Ottawa. However that may be, the pioneer settler of the place, Peter White, had already hewed for himself and his family a rugged clearing in the wilderness and "erected a cabin which he dedicated to his Maker by scripture reading and by prayer."

The District of Bathurst

And onwards with the years the settlers came, and the settlements grew. And the struggle with forest, and rocky hillside, and swamp, and clearing, brought in the end the victory of a New World civilization in which the pioneer farmer and physician, and mill-owner and missionary, and trader and tradesman, had each his very real share.

The struggle for a livelihood—and it was in the earlier years, at least, a constant struggle—led many to seek again new homes in other parts, where soil, or climate, or opportunity, appeared to offer advantages over what the stubborn or the limited resources of the District of Bathurst seemed likely to present or to bestow. In Western Ontario in the middle years, or in Western Canada in the eighties and onwards, men ventured again to repeat the pioneering experiences of their pioneer forefathers.

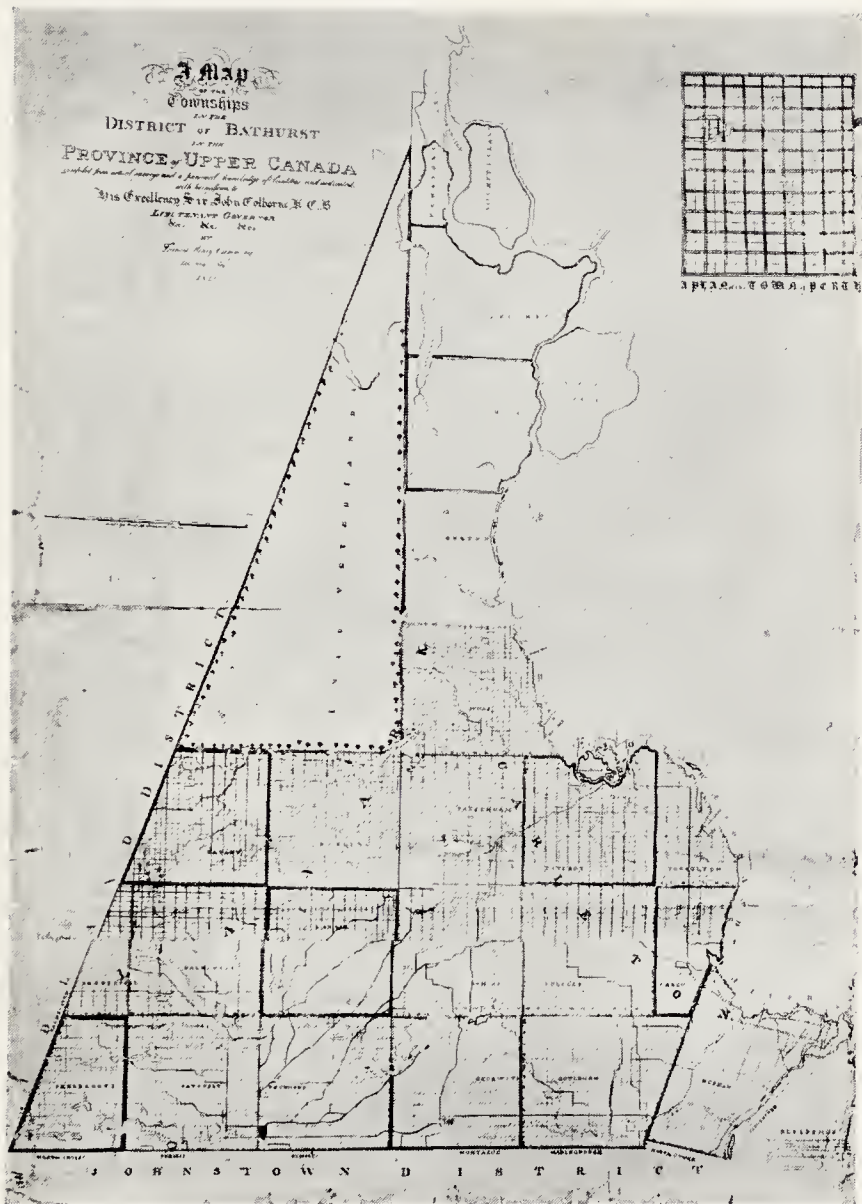
Born in the village of Pakenham, the son of a Scottish tailor in humble circumstances, spending his boyhood amid the charming and picturesque scenery that lay all around this little hill-encompassed hamlet on the Mississippi, with the aroma of the pine woods filling the air, he, who afterwards was known in the public life of Canada as the Honorable William Templeman, must have heard, in later years, as he went to the daily task of his administration in the Parliament Buildings at Ottawa, the refrain of Carleton's lines

"These are the spires that were gleaming
All through my juvenile dreaming."

Learning the trade of a printer in the old office of the Carleton Place *Herald*, he commenced the publication of the *Almonte Gazette* in the autumn of 1867. Removing to British Columbia in the middle eighties, he later founded the *Victoria Times*. These newspapers, each in its own field, continue to flourish to-day. A member of the Federal Parliament, a Senator from 1898 to 1906, a Cabinet colleague of the Right Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the first Canadian Minister of Mines, and thus a pioneer in a larger world—these were among the honours and achievements of his later years. Of this type, also, Thomas Macqueen offers an interesting and indeed a fascinating study.

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

The passing years have added up a century and over since first the forest wilderness re-echoed to the pioneer's axe along the reaches of the Five Rivers. But the memories of a day that is past are worth preserving. These sketches, therefore, are offered as a slight tribute to some of the personages and events that here have helped to make across the years the record of history since those distant days, when first Earl Bathurst, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, commenced his official correspondence over the "Settlements then forming on the Rideau."



MAP OF BATHURST DISTRICT, 1833



REV. WILLIAM BELL,
Pastor of First Presbyterian Church, Perth,
from 1817 to 1837.

II

PERTH-ON-THE-TAY

IN 1828 the Rev. William Bell,^{1*} the first Presbyterian missionary to the settlers at Perth, and who had been then their resident minister for upwards of eleven years, wrote "to the Members of the Church of Christ under his care," a series of pastoral letters.

Apart from the old-time interest these letters bear, as the sincere expressions of a Presbyterian divine who followed a rule and a discipline rather of a day that is past, Mr. Bell's references may aptly be used to introduce the conditions and the march of events that led to the establishment of Perth-upon-Tay. It may not be uninteresting, though perhaps irrelevant here, to offer a sentence or two which best indicate Mr. Bell's character and attitude:

"Eleven years have now elapsed since I came among you to break the bread of life, and to instruct you in the way of salvation. Often have I wished to address you from the press as well as from the pulpit; but various circumstances have hitherto prevented me. Should I be spared some time longer, I intend to write you in future a pastoral letter once a year, or perhaps once a half year, on the concerns of your souls, the various matters connected with public worship and the government of the Church; that when I am absent from you, or no longer in the world, you may read them, and receive instruction. As an introduction to these, I now lay before you an outline of the origin and early history of the Christian Church in this settlement, together with some of the rules that have been adopted for its government.

"In the year 1814, being at that time master of the new Grammar School at Rothesay in the West of Scotland, I had frequent opportunities of conversing with masters of vessels trading between Britain and North America. From them I learned that of the emigrants who left their native shores, ten went to the United States for one that went to

**Figures on this and the following pages, such as 1 above, have reference to notes, with corresponding numbers, commencing on page 286.*

the British Colonies. This induced me to write a letter to Earl Bathurst, Secretary for the Colonies, recommending that in order to direct the tide of emigration to the British Province, and particularly to Canada, some advantages should be offered to emigrants—particularly a free passage, a grant of land, and some assistance in forming a settlement; but above all, that some provision should be made for supplying them with literary and religious instruction, the want of which I understand was the great objection to Canada. In a few days I received an answer from Mr. Goulbourn, Under Secretary of State, informing me that Earl Bathurst had received my letter, and that the measures I had recommended were then under the consideration of His Majesty's Government."

Leaving for the present Mr. Bell's "history of the Christian Church in this settlement," the story leads directly to those measures, then under the Government's consideration, and to the movement of events whereby public men, both in Britain and in Canada, essayed the task of augmenting the military strength of the Colony, through an emigration from the old land, and a settlement in the new, of a population which should at all times possess an unfailing attachment to the Crown. Already, indeed, the Earl of Bathurst² who, in 1812, became Secretary for War and the Colonies, and who for the next twenty years directed the Colonial policy of Great Britain, had been giving some special thought to the question of emigration. On the 29th of October, 1813, while the War of 1812-14 was at its height, Lord Bathurst addressed to Sir George Prevost,³ then the Governor-General of the Canadas, the following message:

"Having reason to believe that the same spirit of emigration which has of late years drawn so many of the Scotch peasantry to settle in the United States, shall continue to prevail in the Highlands, and that there are at this moment a considerable number of the natives of Sutherland and Caithness who are only waiting for an opportunity to leave their native country, it has occurred to me that the male part of this population might be rendered in some degree valuable both for the present defence and the future protection of Upper Canada by offering to them grants of land in that province and a free passage for themselves and their families.



SIR GEORGE PREVOST
Governor-General of Canada, 1812-1825

By Courtesy of Dominion Archives

"I have only been prevented from making such a proposition to them by the consideration that in the present state of the Canadas it might be difficult to provide subsistence for this additional number of inhabitants who for some time at least must be incapable of adding to the general stock.

"I have, therefore, in the first instance, thought it advisable to submit it to your decision and have to request that you would state to me, with as little delay as possible, your opinion whether it would be advisable to receive at this moment such an accession of population; and whether the immediate military assistance which these people might afford by their enrollment in the militia of the Province, added to the advantage which cannot fail to be derived from such a valuable class of settlers, is not of sufficient importance to counterbalance the increased demand for provisions which would be the more immediate consequence of their arrival."⁴

These words, "the present defence and future protection of Upper Canada," almost fully interpret the meaning of the settlements at Perth in 1816 and at Richmond in 1818. At Lanark, in 1820 and 1821, there was the additional incentive of relieving the unusual distress at home. The whole movement, of which the settlement of Drummondville in the Lower Province was another example, introduced for the first time the policy of Government aid to emigration from Britain.

From December, 1813, to April, 1815, the Government of the Upper Province was administered by Sir Gordon Drummond,⁵ the Canadian-born son of a Scotch officer, who had been for a time Deputy Paymaster-General of the forces. Sir Gordon Drummond had seen service abroad and had gained distinction in Egypt. But his brightest laurels were won in the War of 1812-14, becoming the hero of Lundy's Lane. To him Sir George Prevost transmitted Earl Bathurst's despatch to the terms of which Drummond gave a ready and a hearty acquiescence. For he wrote:

"Independent of the advantage to result from the population being thus increased by such loyal inhabitants, the ranks of the militia will be filled with a brave and hardy race of men whose desertion to the enemy would not be apprehended."⁶

And he adds his views of what the Government should do for such settlers:

“A large supply of provisions should accompany them, besides felling axes and other requisite implements which cannot be procured in this country, together with a suitable proportion of scarlet militia clothing, shoes, etc., complete.”

There were, indeed, many reasons why the earl's suggestions should find ready acceptance in the Upper Province. English policy in the days of the Quebec Act—1774 and onwards—strongly favoured the French establishment and fostered the idea of its extension. For here was a body politic, faithful and loyal, ready to breast at all times the dangers threatening from the southwards, where out of the American Revolution there had arisen a dangerous democracy. For Canada, therefore, in the view of the time, safety lay in trusting, and relying upon, what otherwise was an alien people. But, commencing with the French Revolution in 1789, and ending with Napoleon's defeat at Waterloo in 1815, the dangers of a greater democracy at Britain's very door had given to her statesmen innumerable problems and had cost the country many men and much treasure. How long, indeed, could Britain now rely upon the Canadian children of their French foemen? Moreover, the coming of the United Empire Loyalists gave a new hope that in Upper Canada, at least, there was now established a safe and sane English-speaking population which would remain a faithful and a loyal people, ready to resist to the death every attempt at American aggression; and the war just closing showed how dangerous that also might become. But there were some disturbing influences. Prior to the War of 1812-14, Americans, other than Loyalists, had been coming to Canada in considerable numbers. Their sympathies during the war were often found to be anti-British, although it must be remembered that the views of the period, seen through the eyes and expressed through the lips of military men, and those who dwelt in the realm of officialdom, were constantly tinged with the flavour of wars and rumours of wars. Writing to the Governor in June, 1814, Colonel Edward Baynes, of the Glengarry Light Infantry, and for many years Adjutant-General of the forces, presents a rather illuminating commentary:



SIR GORDON DRUMMOND
Administrator of the Government of
Canada, 1815-1816

By Courtesy of Dominion Archives

"In the Upper Province the population is very scanty, and, with the exception of the Eastern District, are chiefly of American extraction. These settlers have been suffered to introduce themselves in such numbers that in most parts they form the majority, and, in many, almost the sole population. A military force formed of such materials could be but little depended upon, and this has been very generally exemplified in some of the most populous parts of the settlements, where two-thirds of the inhabitants have absconded, abandoning valuable farms, and, in repeated instances, have seduced and assisted the soldiers to accompany them. Even Members of the Provincial Legislature have deserted to the enemy, and his chief source of information is drawn from the disaffected settlers who remain. This impolitic system had been suffered to grow to such an extent that, had it not been checked by the war, a few years would have rendered Upper Canada a complete American Colony. Indeed, that had been so nearly accomplished on the important line of communication between Kingston and Cornwall, that had it not been for the counterpoise afforded by the loyal Scots settlers of that place, Stormont and Glengarry, it would have been impracticable to have preserved the communication with the Upper Province, and this intercourse once interrupted, it would have been impossible for the Upper Province to have long sustained itself, as it is well ascertained that the several predatory incursions of the enemy between Kingston and Brockville were perpetrated with the connivance and aid of settlers in that neighborhood."⁸

Descendants of Lanark County pioneers, many of whom have occupied places of distinction in this and other lands, have repeatedly wondered why their forefathers fell among conditions, burdensome and disappointing as they so often were; for, indeed, like Wordsworth's Michael, it was only by endless and unceasing toil that, for many of the settlers at least, a living was hardly won among the rocky ridges of Dalhousie, the grudging, sandy soil of Lanark, or among the impossible swamps of Bathurst and Drummond. The reasons for the answer have already been more than suggested and may here be gathered more explicitly. Nearly forty years before the Military Settlements began, Britain had lost America. The long-continued war with France was not yet over. The young

American nation—English in brain and brawn—was again in arms, this time directing her offensive against Canada. Clearly, therefore, Britain must guard against any dissemination of false views among the people of her North American possessions—against any mistaken or misguided plan of settlement—and must provide every facility whereby troops and supplies from the Lower Province could safely and expeditiously be transported into the Upper Province, without danger of interference from the enemy. The course of action was equally clear.

In the first place, a loyal population must be established inland, considerably removed from the St. Lawrence front; and this could be readily and effectively accomplished by an emigration thither of loyalists from the old land. These could, moreover, be profitably supplemented by disbanded soldiers—not only, as it proved, from some of the famous regiments that fought against Napoleon, but from those, too, who had so lately successfully defeated the despised Americans. Incidentally, the introduction of discharged soldiers among a body of civilian settlers would operate not only as a constant leaven against any possible corruption engendering disloyalty, but would also furnish at all times a ready recruiting ground for trained militiamen and officers in case of future danger.

In the next place, a population in the back townships, producing supplies for those on active duty at the American frontier, in case of further difficulty with the perverse people, was clearly a policy of the most undoubted wisdom. Townships to be surveyed along and in the rear of the Rideau River should offer an ideal location, viewing the country from the proximity of the River St. Lawrence, whose farther shore belonged to an enemy rapidly growing in wealth and power.

Again, it was ever to be expected that this St. Lawrence water-way must remain, for all the future, the fighting line. A rear line of peaceful water communication from Montreal to the interior of Upper Canada was, therefore, absolutely necessary. And a rear line of communication was already at hand. The Ottawa and Rideau Rivers, with the lake expansions of the latter, had apparently the desired connection

with Lake Ontario at Kingston. The earlier view, indeed, presumed a continuous inland water-way from Montreal westward along the Ottawa and the Rideau Rivers, connecting with the Trent to Lake Simcoe and Lake Huron. But while a dozen years or more were destined to pass by before the Ottawa-Rideau water route took on any semblance of development, the actual work of land settlement along the reaches of the Rideau was undertaken without delay.

And finally, for the Scotch and Irish settlers at Lanark and at Shipman's Mills, the Canadian problem was not alone the story. For at the close of the second decade of the nineteenth century the conditions of life in Britain, among her working population in particular, gave various pressing and concurrent reasons why the Rideau settlement scheme should be of service in locating sturdy, active, industrious emigrants who, for their own sakes too, looked to better their meagre fortunes in that Canadian Eldorado in those days so far—so very far—beyond the setting sun.

Proceeding with his policy of a special emigration, Lord Bathurst drew up a Proclamation setting forth the Government's intentions, and sought the advice of Archibald Colquhoun, the Lord Advocate of Scotland, upon the selection of a proper person who might become the Agent of Government in the enterprise. By the middle of February, 1815, the Lord Advocate was able to recommend John Campbell, Sr., Writer to the Signet, Edinburgh.

"Mr. Campbell has long been the law agent of Lord Macdonald, of the Earl of Breadalbane, and of some other Highland proprietors, whose estates he has been in the practice of visiting occasionally, and has a knowledge of persons residing upon them. From his good sense and integrity, he appears to me to be one in whom the persons emigrating would be disposed to place confidence."⁹

Campbell entered on his task with diligent despatch, and the Proclamation was first published at Edinburgh on the 22nd of February, 1815, and communicated at the same time to the newspapers in Scotland:

(Royal C. Arms)

“By the authority of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, acting in the name and on the behalf of His Majesty, and communicated by the Right Honourable Earl of Bathurst, one of the Principal Secretaries of State—

BRITISH PROVINCES IN NORTH AMERICA

“Liberal encouragement by His Majesty’s Government to settlers inclined to proceed from Great Britain and Ireland, and provision by vessels, etc., for their passage to Quebec with their families.

“It is the intention of His Majesty’s Government to encourage settlers to proceed from Great Britain and Ireland to the British Provinces in North America, and for this purpose a certain number of vessels will be appropriated for the conveyance of such persons as may be properly recommended, together with their wives and children, to Quebec, to which post only the conveyance of settlers, free of expense, with other advantages, will be limited during the year.

“Lands will be granted to them, either in Upper or Lower Canada, in which extent is comprehended a choice climate and a soil adapted for every branch of cultivation.

“The encouragement and advantages intended to be offered to settlers will be as follows:

“The passage and provisions during the voyage will be furnished by Government, and, on their arrival in the colony, a grant of one hundred acres of land will be secured to each family, of which they will be put immediately in possession, and all their male children actually residing in the Province will be entitled on attaining the age of twenty-one years, to a similar grant of a hundred acres each.

“For the first six or eight months, as it may be found necessary after their arrival (in order to enable the settlers to establish themselves upon their respective grants and to clear and to cultivate a portion of the land), they will be allowed rations from the public stores, and in case, from unforeseen events, it should be found requisite, further aid in this respect may be afforded, according to the circumstances of the case, by issuing rations for a limited period at a price under prime cost.

“Axes and other necessary implements will also be furnished to them under certain regulations at a fixed price, not exceeding half the prime cost.

“Should any number of families proceeding from the same part of the United Kingdom, or possessing any joint stock or funds, be desirous of settling in the same neighbourhood in Canada, care will be taken to allot them lands as nearly as possible contiguous to each other; and a sufficient portion of land will be appropriated in the midst of such settlers for a church and for the maintenance of a clergyman and a schoolmaster; and in case a sufficient number of settlers so united should be accompanied from the United Kingdom by a person of either of the above functions, who possesses their confidence and can be well recommended, and who shall be approved of by Government, a salary will be provided of £100 per annum to such minister and £50 per annum to the schoolmaster for such period as shall afterwards be specified.

“Persons who may be allowed to proceed to Canada as settlers from Scotland must embark in the month of April from such port or ports in the Clyde as shall be noticed in a future advertisement, where vessels will be ready to receive them for whom the necessary condition will be provided.

“In order to prevent persons from making an unwarranted and improper use of the liberality of the Government, it will be required that every person embarking for Quebec, should at the time of embarkation deposit in the hands of Government’s agents the following sums:

“Every male above sixteen years of age, £16 sterling; every woman, being the wife of any person so embarking, two guineas. Children under sixteen years of age will be conveyed free of expense, and whatever sums may be so paid by the settlers will be repaid to them or their representatives in Canada, at the end of two years from the date of their embarkation, upon its being ascertained that they are settled on the grant of land allotted to them.

“John Campbell, Esq., writer of His Majesty’s Signet, Abercrombie Place, Edinburgh, is appointed by Government, Commissioner and General Agent in Scotland for this business, to whom communications may be made.

“As the time for embarkation of settlers is limited, such as are at a distance and who wish to embrace the present opportunity of settling in British America, will do well to send by post their proposals and certificates without delay. These testimonials must certify the general good character of applicants, their professions, former pursuits, whether married or widowers, the number of their children, distinguish-

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

ing male and female and the ages of all. These must be obtained either from a justice of the peace, clergyman or elders of the parish, or other respectable persons.

"It is recommended that the utmost care be taken by those who grant certificates, that they are satisfied from personal knowledge of the facts contained in the representations of the circumstances.

"Edinburgh, 22nd February, 1815.

*"Abercrombie Place,"*¹⁰

Within a week the agent reported that, considering the state of the Highlands, and the distance from the place of embarkation, and the time required for the people to determine and prepare, it would be wise to postpone the date of sailing till the 1st of July.

Not often, indeed, in the days that were to follow, did various Governments, Home and Colonial, make such careful selection of emigration officers or find such capable persons as John Campbell proved himself to be. His first letter to Lord Bathurst, written from Glasgow on the 24th of February, 1815, just after entering upon his work, indicates a responsibility and integrity commensurate with the commission entrusted to his care. After mentioning his preparation of a handbill for distribution throughout the Counties of Argyll, Perth and Inverness, "in all which Counties I have clients and friends," he proceeds:

"For tho' prejudices exist, and natural attachments to the soil, yet what we have chiefly in my humble apprehension to contend with, are the wretched and infamous practices that have been followed by those emigration crimps, whose unprincipled thirst for gain has led them to such a traffic at times not much less to be dreaded than the slave trade."¹¹

Early in March he is able to report 500 souls in the applications filed at Edinburgh and 200 at Glasgow, with more remote localities yet to be heard from, and, by way of reassuring Lord Bathurst that the conduct of the business rests on good faith and clear understanding, he writes:

"I had been particularly anxious in explaining both in this place [Edinburgh] and at Glasgow, or some other places,

the terms offered by Government in order to prevent disappointment or misunderstandings, so far as I was certain of their meaning. Indeed, I have repeatedly, particularly to the young persons, endeavoured to undeceive them, entertaining hopes of great wealth being acquired by this offer, and that persons of steady character and industry could alone succeed or be encouraged.”¹²

And the very intelligent interest which the agent constantly evinced is shown in later correspondence, but to which at this point reference may appropriately be made:

“I judged it expedient, in compliance with the views of His Majesty’s Government, to publish the best account of Canada I could find for circulation among the applicants. This was taken from the “Edinburgh Encyclopædia.” I also encouraged the publication of some practical advices to the settlers after submitting it to the inspection of persons conversant in the affairs of Canada.”¹³

In a series of “Queries and Remarks” sent by Campbell to Earl Bathurst, on the 13th of March, based on inquiries made and answers given, some impressions may be gathered of the hopes and fears that stirred the countryside wherever the Proclamation became known. The intending settlement rested upon the idea of the head of a family or of the individual male emigrant. Children would be included, but single women, except in the children group or as the sisters of single men, were excluded. No encouragement was given to widows, with or without families. Surgeons would be sent along if required, and clergymen and schoolmasters could also go—not especially honoured, however, other than to be each allowed one hundred acres of land. Churches and schools were left to be built and provided by the settlers themselves. In this respect the plea of the Rev. William Bell the year before did not receive any over-enthusiastic recognition, nor was there any intention to encourage mechanics other than those who might be useful in agriculture or in making a first settlement, such as carpenters, masons, bricklayers and smiths.

The accommodation on the ships and the attendant expense and general arrangements were to be all after the fashion of the transport of troops, and this as well across the sea as

upon the inland journey from Quebec. Rations were to be allowed free of charge or deduction for a limited time during the early months of settlement in Canada.

On the 11th of March Lord Bathurst had advised the agent that "the persons to be provided with passages from Scotland for the season are to be limited to 2,000, of the age of sixteen and upwards, with a proportion of children." The intention was to make ready for sailing from the Clyde in April; but, notwithstanding that considerable advertising was done explaining the conditions over and over again, Campbell had to report that while many wrote expressing a desire to go, the deposit of £16 sterling was a "great obstacle" to many industrious and willing, but without having any savings laid by. Up to the 25th of April the total number for whom deposits had been lodged was 304—62 men, 61 women and 181 children. He had already suggested that the time for sailing should be extended to July, but nothing was done in this respect. Endeavouring to hurry on arrangements with all expedition, a notice of intending settlers appeared in various Scottish prints, dated from Edinburgh, April 7th.

"Applicants in and about Glasgow and in the West country will take notice that the Commissioner in the agency for the Government will be at the George Inn, Georges Square, on Wednesday morning, the 19th day of April, and will remain but for a few days. He will there receive recommendations and certificates which must be precisely in the terms mentioned in the conditions of the 22nd February last, and the explanation of the 24th March, which were published for some weeks at these periods in all the newspapers in Scotland and sent to every clergyman. He will also receive £16 for persons above sixteen years of age and two guineas for wives, etc. In the meantime much trouble and correspondence will be saved if they will forward without delay to this office their certificates and deposits in cash, or bank or banker's bill endorsed, as all this must necessarily be arranged some time before their embarkation and to prevent disappointment in cases where applicants may be rejected.

"Copies of this advertisement may be had at Mr. Duncan's, printer to the University, Morrison's Court, Glasgow, or here.

“The requisites for certificates are as follows:

“1st. General good character. Applicants who from misfortune have failed in their circumstances must bring a regular discharge from their creditors or satisfactory evidence of a fair surrender or compromise; otherwise they will not be suffered to embark, and for the purpose of detecting any imposition in this respect the list of applicants and settlers is open for inspection. Nor will any individual or any of his family be permitted to proceed who are known to be engaged in defrauding the revenue by illicit distillation or otherwise.

“2nd. Occupation or trade;

“3rd. Former occupation, if changed;

“4th. Whether married, unmarried or widower;

“5th. The number of children who accompany them, distinguishing male and female;

“6th. The ages of all.

“Recourse must be had to parish registers for proof of marriages and births; or where this cannot be obtained, other satisfactory evidence. Application may be made for this purpose to magistrates, clergymen, dissenting pastors, elders of the parish, schoolmasters or other respectable persons here or at Glasgow, when necessary.

“*Embarkation.* No notice to this date has yet been received from the Transport Board, who provide vessels, of their being ready in the Clyde. The time of embarkation already published is in April, and to proceed to Quebec as soon after as circumstances will permit. Notice will be given in the newspapers whenever their arrival is known here, and that they are ready to receive settlers. The ports of embarkation are Port Glasgow or Greenock. Those who proceed from Glasgow to the eastward and neighbourhood will be accommodated, free of expense, with small vessels down the river. The hours of attendance, from 9 to 11 in the morning and from 6 to 9 in the evening. For those coming from the country from 2 to 4 in the afternoon.”¹⁴

Applications kept pouring in, but deposits continued to be slowly made. Ireland and England offered their respective quotas. Samuel Chearnley, of Cork, a cousin of Sir Richard Musgrave, Collector at the port of Dublin, puts forward his plea:

“My pretensions, my Lord, are a large and efficient family of fourteen children, nine of them males, and five females. I

have stated particularly to the Under Secretary my further pretensions to the patronage and protection of our Government for this my colony of children, and hope we may meet its kind favour.”¹⁵

But the Transport Board was very tardy in supplying vessels. April passed and May was far advanced when a group of intending settlers who, having given up their situations, had repaired to Glasgow in readiness for an April sailing, addressed a memorial to the Chancellor of the Exchequer complaining with some bitterness of the delay, and of the expense and disappointment which they had undergone. Campbell was continually urging the immediate supply of ships, as he was being daily importuned by waiting emigrants whose scanty store of money and supplies was fast disappearing, and who were now demanding reimbursement from the Government. On the 26th of May the settlers, assembled in Glasgow and represented by one of their number, Alexander McNab, claimed living expenses since the end of April, and also, “now that they may expect to arrive late in Canada, their labour there will be lost for the summer.”¹⁶

It was not, indeed, until almost the middle of June that the transports began to arrive. But still various causes tended to delay. One unexpected interruption arose over the seizure by a press gang of eight men from the *Atlas*; for it must be remembered that these were the days just before Waterloo, and every means was employed to gather in men for the army and navy.

By the 23rd of June Campbell reported to Goulbourn that the agent of the Transport Board had issued allowances to those persons in Glasgow and the neighbourhood who had suffered from the delay of the vessels—that the embarkation would take place immediately and that “the number of persons, including children, who have yet come forward do not exceed 680.”¹⁷

During the first days of June, while yet the ships had not arrived, families numbering in all 140 souls, with upwards of 128 children, applied to the agent for the appointment of a schoolmaster, recommending John Holliday, whose “certificates for character and ability as an ordinary school-teacher”¹⁸

Campbell reported to be satisfactory. Early in July Earl Bathurst approved and the necessary instructions were directed to be forwarded to the Governor of the Canadas. Nothing now remained but to satisfy the Transport Board's demands that the vessels should each have a surgeon, for, "several of the women being pregnant, some near their confinement, and the children unwell from the difference of the diet, still makes a surgeon to each more necessary."¹⁹

On the 10th of July John Campbell addressed a letter to the Governor of Canada, and after referring to advices which Lord Bathurst would give upon the subject, enclosed prints of the Proclamation and notices published in Scotland, and informed the Governor that the emigrant settlers would at once proceed to Quebec in four transports, under the command of Lieut. Champion, of the Royal Navy—the names, ages and other particulars of those embarking to be certified either by himself or his special agent at Glasgow, James Hope Stewart.

On the 11th, 12th and 14th of July the *Dorothy*, the *Baltic Merchant* and the *Atlas* sailed for Canada, carrying in all about five hundred souls; but owing to the non-arrival of a few intending settlers and of the surgeon designated for the fourth transport, the *Eliza*, this ship was delayed till the afternoon of the third of August, when she sailed from Greenock with 122 persons on board.

After the emigrants had left the old land and reached the new, John Campbell proceeded to offer for Lord Bathurst's information an interesting summary of the position in Scotland relative to Canadian emigration. There was without doubt a surplus population in the Highlands, causing the people, otherwise tenacious of the soil, to look for a larger opportunity overseas, and this not at all from any spirit of adventure. But he had met here and there with opposition on the part of the great proprietors, for the spirit of the old feudalism and the old clanship still firmly held in many of the glens. There was no danger of unsettling the people by the spread of emigration literature among them, for the Scotch were a thinking people. If the same plan is to be followed next year arrangements should be undertaken at once—notices

given, shipping plans completed to prevent delays, and a port of embarkation selected more favourable to the Highlands than the Clyde. And he does not hesitate to declare that there is a greater security for the defence of Canada through emigration from the Highlands than from the mixed mass in the low country. And with a true fellow-feeling and an apprehension for the loneliness that might overtake them in the Canadian backwoods, he sincerely suggests that small stills might be legalized, as the people would willingly pay for stills within the reach of their operations and capital.

In reporting to Earl Bathurst in November, Campbell reviews the financial side of his transactions. The total deposits from emigrants amounted to £2,940 10s. He paid to his assistant and clerks about £105; for general expenses "something over £1,300, and, subject always to the earl's approval, he thought his own services were worth 500 guineas.

The *Dorothy*, the *Baltic Merchant* and the *Atlas* arrived at Quebec by the middle of September, and on the 27th of the same month the *Eliza* appeared in the river below. On the 23rd Sir Gordon Drummond, who by this time had succeeded Sir George Prevost as Commander-in-Chief of the Forces and Administrator-in-Chief of the Government of both the Canadas, wrote Lord Bathurst acquainting him of the arrival of the Scottish settlers, and that three locations were awaiting their coming, one in the County of Glengarry, another along the Rideau route between Kingston and the Ottawa River, and a third at the head of the Bay of Quinte, called the Carrying Place. His fears were, however, expressed that the late arrival would prevent location till the following spring.

The Rev. William Bell came in the spring of 1817. In his charming little book, "Hints to Emigrants," he has given a very graphic account of his own sea voyage—a picture indeed for the most part of the like occurrences during the voyage of the four ships in the summer of 1815. The up-river journey, the temporary refuge during the winter of that year at Cornwall, Prescott and Brockville, may be told in Mr. Bell's own language:

"On their arrival in Quebec, they were ordered to proceed up the St. Lawrence. It was the wish of the Government

to settle them near Drummondville in the Lower Province; but as they were allowed to choose themselves, they preferred the Upper Province. A few days' stay at Montreal gave some, who began to be tired of the expedition, an opportunity of deserting it and settling in the city. Others went over to the United States. Both of these classes, of course, forfeited their deposit money, but that was now of no consequence, as they had obtained a free passage for their wives and families. The remainder of the expedition, having proceeded up the river, eighty-four miles farther, landed at Cornwall, where part of them were settled on some vacant Crown lands on the west side of Glengarry. The remainder, to the number of sixty families, proceeded sixty miles higher up the St. Lawrence and landed at Brockville. Summer being already far spent, and some difficulty having occurred respecting the place of settlement, it was determined that they should remain in the barracks at Brockville till the following spring. To those who had large families this delay was a serious loss, for, though they received rations all the time they remained, yet they stood in need of clothing, and other necessities, which they could ill afford to provide. To those who had no families and were willing to labour, it was an advantage, for they had time to put by a little for future use, money being then plentiful and workmen in demand."²⁰

On the 21st of November, Sir Sidney Beckwith,²¹ the Quarter-Master-General, sent to the Governor his official report of the arrival of the emigrants and of the efforts being made by the military authorities for their care, during the winter and until the spring, when the settlers might expect to reach the land intended for them.

"I have the honor to report to your Excellency that of the settlers recently arrived from Scotland in the transports *Dorothy*, *Atlas* and *Baltic Merchant*, and since forwarded to the Upper Province, eight or nine hundred unmarried men have proceeded to Kingston and are there employed by the Engineer's Department, on the King's works. At Brockville, thirty large families are accommodated in the barracks, in some adjoining huts hired by themselves, and in the neighbouring farm houses, where most of them have procured employment—this station being considered the principal depot of the settlement about to be formed under the superintendence of Alexander Mc-

Donnell, Esq.; the staff surgeon, Mr. Thom; the Deputy Assistant Commissary-General, Mr. Grey, and Lieut. McIvor, Assistant Deputy Superintendent, are fixed for the present.

"The barracks are comfortable and in good order, under the charge of an issuer, whom I have authorized to furnish such a proportion of fuel during the winter as may be deemed necessary for the cooking and comfort of the settlers' families, subject to the recommendation of Mr. Thom, and the approval of the Superintendent.

"At Fort Wellington there are a few families, whom it is contemplated also to settle on the Rideau. These are accommodated in a store building on the wharf, which I found it necessary to direct some repairs being made upon. The building was used during the late war as a barracks and store. It is, I understand, the property of an American now in the United States, but a claim is made to the disposal or letting of it by Lt.-Col. Hagerman.

"The settlers at this station are under the charge of Acting Lieutenant and Fort Adjutant Frost, who has since been authorized by Major-General Sir Frederick Robinson to perform the duties of the Quarter-Master-General's Department, and whom I therefore take the liberty of recommending to Your Excellency's favourable consideration for a small increase or allowance.

"A trifling repair has been made to the barracks at Johnstown, which is now in a tolerable state for the accommodation of settlers and their families.

"At Cornwall I found about three hundred of the settlers and their families. For these there was no adequate accommodation. The barracks and hired buildings had been given up and were in a bad condition, but as cover was indispensably necessary before winter, I was obliged to direct three of the buildings being re-engaged, a few stoves to be placed in them, the windows to be repaired, and some of the berths to be replaced. Similar instructions were also given at this station for a moderate issue of fuel under the direction of Deputy Assistant Superintendent McDonnell, Asst. Surgeon Caldwell, and the officer of the Commissariat Department. To the immediate charge of these hired buildings, I take the liberty of submitting to Your Excellency the name of Mr. James Downelly as an Acting Barrack Master, with five shillings per diem, and subaltern allowances.



FORT WELLINGTON

"In the small barrack at the River Raison are about fifty settlers, including their families, who are comfortably lodged for the winter.

"At Coteau de Lac are three families. The men are officers and employed with Your Excellency's permission to repairing the locks under the Engineer's Department.

"At Montreal are a few families whom the confinement of their wives or the sickness of their children rendered unable to proceed.

"In the progress of this service, it is my duty to report that Capt. R. Sherwood, Superintendent of Guides, who had been struck off pay and allowances in the Quarter-Master-General's Department since the 24th of June last, has nevertheless been continued in constant and unremitting employment under the orders of General Sir George Murray and Major-General Sir Frederick Robinson, but as the immediate nature of his employment has not been such as to authorize his being paid by the Surveyor General's Department in Upper Canada, and as no other provision appears to have been made for his being remunerated, I beg leave to recommend Capt. Sherwood's being replaced on the strength of the Quarter-Master-General's Department, from the 28th June last, with his former pay and allowances to the 24th December, inclusive.

"I beg leave also to state, for Your Excellency's information, that although Major-General Sir Frederick Robinson had directed the Superintendent to submit the name of a proper person to fill the situation of secretary-storekeeper, no one has yet been named to that important post. I, therefore, with the concurrence of Mr. McDonnell, submit for your approbation, the name of Mr. D. Daverne, senior clerk of the Quarter-Master-General's Department in Upper Canada, as a person well versed in accounts and of good general information, and recommend at the same time his being allowed ten-shillings per diem and captain's lodging money."²²

As might have been expected, discontent in various quarters found expression.

"A rumour having reached me," wrote the Governor to Bathurst, "that some of the settlers lately arrived had expressed discontent and even murmured at their situation, and at the allowances they derive from Government, I have made a point of immediately directing Major-General Sir Sidney Beckwith

to send an officer of the Quarter-Master-General's Department to the spot to ascertain if any just ground for complaint existed." ²³

Many of these colonists had given up their homes and disposed of their possessions in the old land as early as April, and now, nine months later, through weary delays in Scotland and in Canada, they were yet far from their promised locations, and compelled to spend the winter in idleness and disappointment. From Beckwith's own knowledge, and from the report of his officer, Captain Barnes, John Holliday, the schoolmaster, appeared as the ringleader of the malcontents. Sir Sidney Beckwith wrote the Governor:

"Mr. Holliday has been for several weeks, together with upwards of 30 of the most numerous settlers families, at Brockville. In this situation, Mr. McDonnell, the Principal Superintendent in Upper Canada, considering the opportunity of so large a number of children being together, should not be neglected, proposed to Mr. Holliday to undertake their instruction and offered to provide a room, fuel, etc., for that purpose. To this proposal Mr. Holliday objected, unless in addition to his salary he might be permitted to charge \$2 or \$2.50 for each settler's child put under his charge.

"The duty on which your Excellency was recently pleased to employ me, leading me through Brockville, the circumstance was referred to me. Convinced that Mr. Holliday's demand could not be approved of, and that the parents of the children were totally unable to pay any such sum, I declined giving it my sanction. Extremely solicitous, however, that the views of His Majesty's Government in sending out these schoolmasters should be fulfilled so far as possible, I authorized an appropriate room being furnished to Mr. Holliday, together with fuel, candles, etc., for the accommodation of the settlers' children, granting him at the same time the indulgence of receiving the children of the place and its vicinity at the customary price, should the inhabitants wish to place them with him." ²⁴

And John Holliday looms up again in the report of Captain Barnes to Sir Sidney Beckwith, which lights up the picture of emigrant life in and around the barracks at Cornwall and at Brockville, in December, 1815.

"I examined minutely into the circumstances directed by your letter of the 9th instant. It appeared that some delay had taken place in the execution of your orders respecting the repair of those habitations hired for the accommodation of the settlers, in consequence of the barrack master having only within a few days received his instructions, since which he has lost no time. The windows have been repaired, the berths in one house completed, and the others going forward, and a stove has been placed in each room. I can with propriety observe there are very few of the old settlers in Glengarry so comfortable as those in Cornwall. I was informed by a very respectable settler who is working at the Rev. Mr. McDonnell's that two petitions had been forwarded to England, about three weeks since, by a party of the settlers, one to the Prince Regent, the other to the Earl Bathurst. He was requested to sign it, but declined. The three following are the principal leaders in the business. William Old (ship *Atlas*), formerly lawyer, after bankrupt merchant; John Holliday (ship *Atlas*) school-master; Francis Allen (ship *Atlas*), formerly lawyer.

"The purport of the petition was, first, stating their situation and praying for the full allowance of rations being granted to children of all ages and for an allowance of rum which they received on the way out. Among a number it is not surprising that men of this description should be found endeavouring to contaminate the minds of the well-disposed; for those who really came out for the purpose of settling have confessed to me that they never were so well off and are only anxious to be placed on their land."²⁵

John Holliday, like most of his companions, doubtless thought that saying good-bye to the old land meant a farewell also to a time and a country overburdened with military demands, and certainly sick of everything that savoured of war. Coming as a civilian settler, little wonder that he became restive under the military discipline that Captain Barnes expected to see maintained. It may be remarked in passing, and as adding to the interest of this distant time, that the great-grand-daughter of this old Scottish dominie, Isabel Skelton, is the wife of Professor Oscar Skelton, so widely known throughout Canada for his very illuminative biographies of Sir Alexander Galt and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and herself the author of two recent and delightful books—the "Backwoods-

woman," and "The Life of Thomas D'Arcy McGee." In the course of the settlers' story, John Holliday will appear again. If military establishments were not to his liking in 1815, ecclesiastical establishments, according to the practice of the time, brought him even less cheer before many years passed over the settlement.

While Lord Bathurst at home was engaged in collecting and preparing to emigrate his colony, the war with the United States, of which the Canadian border was almost wholly the region of conflict, engaged the attention of every one concerned in the administration of the Government of Canada. It has already been seen that military needs were the first concern. And, when the war was over or drawing to a close, the usual conflicts and discussions between civil and military authority created a situation whereby the requirements of the proposed settlers were often but tardily attended to. So it was that when the little colony, sailing in the summer of 1815, reached Canada with the expectation of settling along the Rideau, no locations were ready, nor were any arrangements completed for their reception.

Francis Gore,²⁶ formerly the Lieutenant-Governor of Bermuda, arrived at York on the 23rd day of August, 1806, to become the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. He, too, had been a soldier of distinction and had seen service in the campaign in Portugal and elsewhere. He was first of all a military man, and his attitude aroused a variety of antagonisms, an account of which belongs elsewhere. In the autumn of 1811 he returned to England, thus ending his first administration. After a succession of administrators, almost always identified with the command of the forces as well, for these were the years of the war with the United States, Governor Gore returned to Canada, arriving at York on the 25th of September, 1815, where he was received by the inhabitants with an outburst of enthusiasm.

It was in this month of September that the Scottish emigrants were arriving and coming inland to Prescott and Brockville. It has already been indicated that no effective preparations had been made to receive them. Governor Gore, who while in England had opportunities of learning what



HON. FRANCIS GORE
Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada, 1815-1818

By Courtesy of Dominion Archives

was being done, set about the task of completing the Canadian end of the enterprise. On the 23rd of February, 1816, writing from York in Upper Canada, he advised Lord Bathurst of the steps taken to carry out the scheme.

"Soon after my return to this Government, an arrangement took place with the Commander of the Forces respecting the establishment of settlers from Europe by which the location of them, as well as the transport, victualling, and supply of farm utensils was, with the full concurrence of the Council, submitted to the disposition of Gordon Drummond, who, directing the Quarter-Master-General's and Commissary Departments, could with more facility order what was received from Quebec.

"I placed at Sir Gordon Drummond's disposal all the Crown Reserves and the greater part of the ungranted land in the two Lower Districts, amounting to about 350,000 acres, relying upon a concurrent disposition to meet what I understood to be your lordship's wish in that respect.

"This liberal accommodation was soon discovered to be an obstacle to the just fulfilment of the Royal promise to the children of Loyalists, who naturally desired to receive their promised land as near as might be to their parents.

"No consideration could for a moment diminish my zeal to second the known view of His Majesty's Government, which I understood to be to establish a communication between the River St. Lawrence and the Ottawa by the River Rideau, so as to secure an intercourse with Lower Canada without exposure in case of hostilities. This measure was proposed and rejected by the agents (appointed by the Commander of the Forces) for diffuse settlement, as the inclination of the emigrants might suggest, but after vacillating some months between various projects, Sir Gordon Drummond, on receipt of your Lordship's despatch of the 10th of October last, has decided to consolidate this settlement on the Rideau, and I have just concluded with the Quarter-Master-General, who has been sent up to this Province for that purpose, to purchase from the Indians a tract of country west of the River Rideau, to afford an entire range of townships for their accommodation."²⁷

And in further correspondence the Governor more definitely informed Lord Bathurst of the completed arrangements:

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

"I have proposed to place at your disposal a range of townships in the rear of Burgess and Elmsley, upon a rough estimation containing about 300,000 acres, which entirely meets the approbation of Sir Sidney Beckwith, and I have in consequence given directions for the survey of townships to be called Bathurst, Drummond and Beckwith, that no delay may be interposed in the removal of the settlers from the present depot."²⁸

Thus it happens that these townships to-day commemorate the names of Lord Bathurst, as the founder; of Sir Gordon Drummond, as the Governor or Administrator of Upper Canada at the inception of the scheme, and of Sir Sydney Beckwith, as the Quarter-Master-General who should have in charge the actual work incidental to the establishment of "the settlement opening on the Rideau."

This region was still the undisturbed and undisputed home of the red man, and of the wild things of the forest. Nowhere, perhaps, could be found more favourable opportunities for hunting, trapping and fishing than along the densely wooded courses of the Five Rivers and their tributaries. Indeed, in considerable measure their old-time glories in these respects continue to our own day. From the time of the Conquest and onwards, to 1830, the relations between the Government and the Indians had reference almost exclusively to the cultivation of their friendship and alliance in time of war, and the Department of Indian Affairs was of a purely military character. This condition remained till 1830, when Sir George Murray adopted the policy of gradually reclaiming the Indians from a state of barbarism, and so introducing among them the arts and habits of civilized life. This brought with it the change from military supervision to control by the civil power. But before, as well as after, 1830, the Indians had a right in the lands over which they roamed. Following the Conquest, and, under the Proclamation of 1763, they had been conceded the right of occupancy upon their old hunting grounds and their claim to compensation for its surrender. Accordingly, on the 22nd of February, 1816, the Hon. Col. Claus, Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs at York, sent to Captain Ferguson, the Resident Agent

of Indian Affairs at Kingston, Governor Gore's instructions in the following terms:

"It being the object of His Majesty's Government to make a purchase of four or five townships in the rear of those mentioned in the margin (Crosby, Burgess, Elmsley, Montague and Marlboro), you will immediately communicate the same by wampum to the Chiefs of the Chippewa and Messesawguay Nations, owners of the said lands, and inform them previous to your making a provisional agreement with them, that the King, their great Father, will make an establishment on the land described to which I am confident, no objection on their part will be made. By His Excellency Lieut.-Governor Gore's order, you will on this occasion as well as on all others, place yourselves under the immediate command of Major General Sir Sidney Beckwith, Quarter-Master-General, and during your absence order Capt. Anderson to assume the duties of Superintendent of the post of Kingston."²⁹

The Governor's instructions were accompanied by a plan indicating in outline the land to be acquired, by the survey of three new townships, covering in all nearly three hundred thousand acres. Thus was extinguished the Indian title.

Leaving, then, for the present, the story of the civil colony, consideration must now be given to the intending soldier settler, and to the methods used a hundred years ago of carrying out a scheme of soldiers' civil establishment or re-establishment, as the case might be.

While, in the spring of 1815, John Campbell was stirring up the Highlands, and the settlers, gathered from glen and mountain side, and joined by others from Glasgow and elsewhere, in the Lowlands, were preparing to sail, delayed as they were till far into the summer, plans were under way in Canada for the disbanding of soldiers and of settling them upon the land. Napoleon and his ambitions were already passing into history. Already, too, there had come to bless the boundary between Canada and her southern neighbour, the commencement of one hundred years of peace.

Under a general order of the 6th of December, 1814, the Prince Regent had communicated his "gracious intention" of granting to disbanded soldiers locations of waste lands and Crown Reserves in the Canadas.

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

In June, 1815, the Governor intimated to Major-General Sir Frederick Robinson,³⁰ the Provisional Lieutenant-Governor of the Upper Province, that Alexander McDonnell, late Deputy Paymaster-General of the Upper Canada Militia, would be a desirable person to superintend and direct the actual locations upon the land as well for civilians as for soldiers.

In July the Commander of the Forces in Upper Canada published regulations accordingly, for the information and guidance of such as might be disposed to exchange the sword for the sickle.

"Each soldier is to be allowed one hundred acres of land, and is to receive his location from the Superintendent upon his being satisfied that the claimant is of the description and of the character to become a useful settler. He is to be placed on his land, the boundaries of which and the conditions of his grant are to be expressed in the ticket of location. It is to be clearly understood that the lands held under these grants cannot be alienated or disposed of until the grantee shall have resided upon and cultivated a reasonable proportion of the same for the space of three years.

"Officers will be entitled to a ticket of location in the first instance for two hundred acres of land, upon condition that they cause a reasonable proportion of the same to be cultivated and do not dispose of it, until three years after the date of the ticket.

"Officers and men are to receive provisions for themselves and families, in such proportions as shall be hereafter specified, for one year.

"Implements of husbandry and tools will also be supplied to them in sufficient quantities, and other comforts, according to the necessities of the individuals.

"With a view to carry into full effect the intentions of His Majesty's Government on this head, His Excellency has been pleased to appoint Alexander McDonnell to be Superintendent. His Excellency has also been pleased to appoint Lieutenant Angus McDonnell of the Glengarry Light Infantry Fencibles, with the pay of 2s.6d. army sterling per day, in addition to the full pay of his commission in the army, to be stationed at the depot at Cornwall, to receive and take charge of the settlers. This appointment to take place from the 25th ultimo, and to continue until further orders.

"Lieutenant McDonnell will proceed immediately to Cornwall and place himself under the orders of the Superintendent.

"All applications on the part of the Claimants for lands in Upper Canada are to be made, until further notice, to the officer in charge of the depot at Cornwall.

"Passages to the depot will be ordered on application at the office of the Quarter-Master-General for such of these men and their families as may have received their discharges in the Upper Province."³¹

In July also the Surveyor-General issued instructions to Major D. McGregor Rogers, as Deputy Superintendent of "Military Agricultural Settlements," providing for a general plan of distributing and controlling the Government aid. A commissariat officer was transferred to the Survey Department, and arrangements were presently completed whereby every detail could be fully supervised. Expenditures were contemplated for assistance in opening roads; repairing tools; material for building huts, stores and bridges, with a provision for the incident labour; conveyances of settlers; provisions and stores to the depot and onwards to the locations. The message of the Surveyor-General closed in these words:

"As it is unpracticable to particularize all the various and extensive duties which will devolve upon you, but as you can have constant reference to me and to the head of your Department, I trust, from the confidence I feel in your intelligence, zeal and integrity, that every difficulty will be surmounted and the views of His Majesty's Ministers be carried into effect with all the expected advantages to Great Britain and this Province."³²

Disbanding and discharging of soldiers proceeded apace, and soon the patience and diligence of military and civil agents alike were taxed to the utmost. Of all those connected with the Department of the Surveyor-General, Reuben Sherwood had the largest acquaintance with the Rideau waters and its lake expansions, and as well with the townships south and east of the river and now forming portions of the counties of Leeds, Grenville and Dundas, for he was born in this locality, to the south of Rideau Lake.

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

To him, then, Alexander McDonnell turned for information, having reported that Fort Wellington, at the modern town of Prescott, would in the meantime be the most desirable depot, as well for the assembling of disbanded soldiers as for various groups of emigrants from overseas, who indeed were constantly arriving and were being sent inland to Kingston and farther westward into Upper Canada.

During the summer of 1815 soldier settlements proceeded apace in the townships of Oxford, Wolford, Montague and Marlborough. In August the Superintendent, then located at Fort Wellington, where he arrived on the 9th of the month, was unusually busy:

"I am lodged," he says, "in a very noisy tavern, and have to attend to the hourly importunities of the discharged men as they present themselves."³³

But neither soldiers nor civilians could by any possibility hope to be settled before the spring of the next year. Meanwhile, in the midst of a series of confusions, the Superintendent set about his duties. And McDonnell had many difficulties. Towards the end of August he is complaining to the Governor's Secretary of the kind of tools supplied to the settlers. Augers, for example, coming out from England are too small in size and poorly made; American manufacture is much better and found in sizes suitable for the work to be done, and the axes were execrable and had to be abandoned altogether. But there is, too, an exasperating delay in surveys.

"I earnestly request surveyors may be instructed to run the concession lines in the several townships watered by the Rideau. Without this previous step nine-twentieths of the settlers will never be able to find their lots, as not a vestige of mark remains to denote them. This has been a source of disappointment which has created a discontent not in my power to remedy."³⁴

On the 4th of November, 1815, the Executive Council at York had passed an order directing the Surveyor-General to report for settlement such vacant and grantable lots as might be required for the emigrants' accommodation, and upon the certificate of the Location Agent, proof of actual settle-

ment and improvement, patent grants should issue. The close of the year brought neither relief nor satisfaction, especially to the emigrant settlers. Winter had come. Nothing definite could be ascertained as to surveys. Deputy Superintendent Rogers was reporting his extreme regret over the fact that survey parties were not at work. The utmost dissatisfaction prevailed among the settlers, who presented, through the medium of Dr. Thom, to the Governor, at the end of December, an outline of their grievances and desires. Dr. Thom was one of the army surgeons allotted to the emigrants, and continued to live for many years at Perth.

“The petition of the subscribers, settlers from Scotland, Humbly sheweth:

“That the petitioners emigrated from Scotland with the intention of settling in Upper Canada, and after having undergone numberless hardships and privations have arrived at Brockville, back from which place it is proposed to settle them; but, as they understand, this place not be positively fixed upon, they have presumed to make the present application to Your Excellency, humbly trusting that you will permit them to settle farther up the country.

“The petitioners will humbly state the reasons which make them reluctant to settle on the Rideau, and likewise the inducements they have to proceed up. The crops in the Rideau are subject to hurt from early frosts; the lands are badly watered for cattle, at an immense distance from the St. Lawrence, and no water conveyance for their wood and produce. These are the reasons which chiefly prepossess them against the Rideau. To these, allow them to urge the advantages of the Upper Country—a great superiority of soil and climate, a much longer season for carrying on farming operations, and many other smaller advantages appear of incalculable advantage to them. The petitioners, in urging their request of being settled farther up, would beg of Your Excellency to consider that they have left their native country, many dear friends and relations, suffered many hardships with large families, and submitted to numberless privations in order to obtain a settlement in this Province. How galling, then, would it be for them not to attain their object now when so

near it, and how much disappointed would their friends and acquaintances be at home, who only wait for a favourable report from the petitioners before coming out to bless them here with their friendship and society.

"The petitioners will conclude with observing that, many difficulties as they have encountered, they would willingly undergo them again to obtain a settlement in the upper country, but they flatter themselves that what is so much their wish and evidently so much to their advantage, will at once make an impression on Your Excellency, and that you will appoint some eligible situation for them on Lake Ontario, at least fifty or sixty miles above Kingston.

"May it, therefore, please your Excellency to consider the foregoing petition and allow the petitioners to be settled farther up the country, and that early enough not to lose another season, and that the situation may be as favourable as possible in respect to the conveyance of wood or produce.

"And your petitioners are:

"Francis Allan (for self), Robt. Gardner, and Arch. Morrison and John Bush.

John Allan	John Flood	Thos. Barber
James Fraser	Otto Thid	Hugh McKay
Robt. Gibson	John Millar	Thomas Cuddie
James Taylor	Thos. McLean	Wm. McGillivary.
Wm. Holdernup	Geo. Wilson	John Holliday
W. Scott	Wm. Johnstone	John Ferrier ³⁵
John Kingston	William Old	Abraham Ferven."

But the "Old Ontario Shore" was not for them. Military authority had decreed for somewhere on the Rideau, and thither eventually the little colony proceeded; and this, notwithstanding that Sir Sidney Beckwith reported to Governor Gore the view of Sir Gordon Drummond in February, 1816, that owing to the apparent impracticability of the Rideau scheme, the request of the settlers to be allowed to go to the Bay of Quinte was not unreasonable.

However, by the middle of March, 1816, surveys in the new townships north of the Rideau were proceeding. Lieutenant-Colonel Cockburn, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, was

able to report from his office at Kingston, on the 12th March, to Governor Gore, that now arrangements were completed,

“For moving out of provisions immediately as far as the Rideau Lake, where the first depot is, I hope by this time, formed. Camp equipage for 200 men will be sent from this place to Brockville to-morrow, for the use of settlers. I intend going down to visit and report on the Rideau River the latter end of this week.”³⁶

But as yet the actual centre or depot in the new townships remained unascertained. In the correspondence the new townships are frequently designated by numbers, not by names, and with much snow on the ground and an interminable forest all about, the Superintendent of Locations found great difficulty in deciding upon the place which should remain as a settlement centre. On the 12th March, McDonnell, in a state of considerable excitement and concern, called together Dr. Thom, the emigrants' surgeon; Reuben Sherwood, the chief field surveyor; Joseph Daverne, the proposed clerk of the depot to be established, and one or two other advisers, and carefully scanned plans and sketches in the effort to reach a decision. The outline of the Rideau Lake and the adjacent townships, the question of access for people, provisions, live stock and equipment, the lines of possible communication from Brockville and Kingston northwards, were all anxiously canvassed. Having directed Sherwood and Daverne to further exploration, he hurried, as he says, to Kingston to urge Colonel Cockburn's interest in the selection of the depot. On the 16th Colonel Cockburn and Captain Otty arrived at Brockville and, together with Sherwood and Daverne, the party set out for Rideau Lake. Superintendent McDonnell's own words, of the 22nd March, complete the relation:

“It is impossible for me to express the gratification I felt in having my most sanguine wishes confirmed by the report of these gentlemen—wishes which I had for a length of time entertained and from which I never departed. We found Pike Creek, in the rear of Elmsley and Burgess, to be a fine river, winding through the townships Nos. 1 and 2, with excellent land on

both its banks. We all proceeded down the Rideau Lake ten miles, to the Carrying Place, left our sleighs, crossed the neck of land, then the inner lake, which Col. Cockburn named Otty Lake, to where it commenced to run in a stream which finally enters into Pike Creek. *Here it was concluded that the settlement should commence on the East Bank of that creek, in Township No. 2.* Captain Sherwood stating that he would open a road before the sleighs arrived, being but four miles to cut, including the portage between the Lake and the shore from a bend in the small creek running from Otty Lake, called by Colonel Cockburn, Jebb Creek, and from that spot, Messrs. Sherwood and Daverne stated that a road may easily be opened in twenty days to lot number 30, in the 3rd concession of Montague, ... I have contracted for a storehouse of 60 feet by 20, to be completed in three weeks, for £70 currency."³⁷

The sleighs, with stores and supplies, together with settlers and discharged soldiers, forthwith began to leave Brockville, with the aid of Lieutenant McKeever, and all were expected to assist the Government party now opening the road to the east bank of Pike Creek, in Township No. 2, and from thence down to the third concession of Montague. Township No. 1 was the township of Bathurst, and No. 2 was the township of Drummond, in the south-east corner of which the town of Perth has completed over one hundred years of her existence.

On March 25th Reuben Sherwood finally reported to Colonel Cockburn on the exact location of the depot:

"I have at last effected opening the communication to the new townships on Otty's Lake, and last evening received the first brigade of stores, say twenty double sleighs, loaded with 12 cwt. each. I have fixed upon a most beautiful site for the depot stores, nearly where the line between Nos. 1 and 2 will cross the Pike River, and within the first mile out—a fall of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet in the River, sufficient for any mills we may require, and the quality of the land unexceptionally good. I shall probably be able to give you some idea of the source of the branch of the Rideau within ten days. I have been to the mouth of the Pike River, and sleighs at this moment might come up it over the rapids. I, therefore, conclude that boats may be brought up in the summer, and for about ten miles

above the depot the stream comes from the west and is from forty to one hundred yards in breadth, without any rapids. The settlers have this moment arrived with their knapsacks and axes.”³⁸

It only remains to add, by way of explanation, that Pike River is the early name for the Tay, and “the most beautiful site for the depot stores” was immediately named Perth, and in the recesses of the forest on this new-found stream was established the Government stores, and the first tents of the incoming settlers, as the primitive foundations of Perth-upon-Tay.

There is a traditionary story, long appearing in various prints, that in the autumn of 1815 a few of the more adventurous colonists set out from Brockville, arriving finally at the site of the present town of Perth. They fixed its location, so runs the tale, by felling a gigantic elm tree that stood on the right bank of the Tay. But McDonnell’s report, supported by a like account from Sir Francis Cockburn and the message a few days after from Reuben Sherwood, fixing the location in March, 1816, leaves the story of the elm tree to the pages of romance.

With all the pent-up longing for homes of their own so soon to be gratified, and in eager anticipation, civilian settlers and disbanded soldiers made ready to move into the newly opened territory, and soon the Superintendent and his officers were beseiged by pressing applicants. During the spring and summer of 1816 transportation routes from the St. Lawrence inland was over the course so recently travelled by McDonnell and Colonel Cockburn. The road led north-westwards from Brockville, some twenty-six miles, to the “Stone Mills,” then owned by a man named Jones, and situated near the easterly end of Upper Beverley Lake, in the township of Bastard, and then north to the Rideau Lake, some twelve miles more, and near to the site of the present village of Portland. From this place an old settler by the name of Lindsay assisted in the transport down the lake ten miles or so, and on to the newly established depot on the Pike River. After the winter

was over the course of operations in conveying the settlers and their possessions from "the front" is very effectively described at a much later day by David Kilburn, the son of a United Empire Loyalist, who had taken part in the War of 1812-14, and who was elected in 1828 to the Legislative Assembly for Upper Canada, as one of the representatives for the County of Leeds.

"Soon after my return from the war, I commenced trade at Unionville, ten miles in the rear of Brockville, and I was also employed by the Commissariat Department in the settlement of the emigrants who first settled in Perth and vicinity in 1816. I forwarded all the families by wagons to the Bay" (now village of Portland) "and had to cut a road the last three miles to reach the lake. Thence in a large scow, they were taken down the Rideau Lake below Oliver's Ferry to a deep bay above the mouth of the River Tay; then down on ox-sleds through the woods about a mile and a-half to the Tay above (now) Pike Falls; then in another scow up the River Tay to the Depot—the present town of Perth. The same spring I was employed by the Government to purchase wheat, oats and potatoes for the emigrants, being sent to the settlement by the same route. I had sent forward provisions, the winter previous, by ice and roads cut between the lakes. The following autumn a road was cut by Peter Howard, M.P., from the present site of Toledo to Oliver's Ferry and Perth, nearly on the line now travelled. The two succeeding years after the beginning of the Perth settlement I had the contract for the transport of all the stores and supplies made by the Government to the settlement—some five or six hundred loads. The first season the getting the settlers, their baggage, seed, etc., transported from Brockville to the settlement, cost the Government \$3.25 per hundred; the next two winters, the direct road being opened, it was done for from one half to three-quarters of a dollar per hundred."³⁹

Adiel Sherwood and others, at Brockville and the country around, had a share in the business as well. The accompanying sketch will indicate the road and the route in 1816.

Early in April McDonnell is writing to the Governor's Secretary from "Township No. 2, Pike River." He regrets



SKETCH OF RIDEAU SETTLEMENT

By Courtesy of Dominion Archive



his inability to send any proper plan of the settlement, for he is working under great difficulties, having "no chair, nor table, nor books." And he has many annoyances, not the least of which is that as the depot was fixed before any survey was made, he now finds that the Government store and other buildings are actually on a Clergy Reserve lot, which he prays the Governor to confirm, taking as recompense for the Reserves a lot elsewhere.

By the middle of the month the Superintendent's letters are written from "Perth-on-the-Tay." Peter McPherson's location ticket is dated at "Perth" on April 17th. The settlement centre was established. The settlers were rapidly coming to their locations. New homes, rude indeed as they undoubtedly were, began to take form here and there in the forest. "The emigrants are settled" writes McDonnell on the 14th May,

"On the base line in front of Township No. 1, and all on the vacant lots and Crown reserves in the 10th concession of Elmsley and Burgess, bordering on this line in the direction towards Kingston."⁴⁰

"Township No. 1" was the Township of Bathurst, and the settlement was along the town line between that Township and Burgess, and still familiarly designated as "the Scotch Line."

The first location, as already indicated, was the 17th of April, and among those settling on that day were John Holliday, lot A; Alexander McFarlane and James McDonald, lot 1; William McGillivray and Alexander Cameron, lot 2; John Bruch and William Rutherford, lot 3; John Millar and Robert Gardner, lot 4; James Drysdale and John Allen, lot 16; John Ferrier, lot 7; Abraham Ferrier and Thomas Barber, lot 8—all in the tenth concession of Burgess.

A form of location ticket in the possession of relatives of the late James McPherson, barrister-at-law, of Kincardine, whose uncle was among the first settlers and whose father afterwards became the surveyor for the District of Bathurst, is of special interest, and is reproduced:

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst



Superintendent's Office,
Perth, U. C. 17th April 1816 }

THE BEARER, *Peter M. Thomson Esq* is
Located to the *West half* of Lot No. *Twenty* in the *Twelfth*
Concession of the Township of *Elmley* County of *Leeds* —
and District of *Johnstown*

THE CONDITION of this Location is such, That if the above named
Peter M. Thomson is not residing upon, and improving the
above described Lot, clearing and putting in crops at least four acres
yearly, then this Title to be void and of no effect, and subject to be
immediately re-granted.

N. B. After Location no exchange can take place, nor is this certi-
ficate of any value but to the original Grantee.

By Order,

J. Dewar Esq
Superintending Settlers.



LOCATION TICKET

Here for a moment the story turns again to the intending soldier settlers. On the 18th of May Deputy Adjutant-General John Harvey had given orders that the Glengarry Light Infantry should disband at Kingston. The Canadian Fencibles at Montreal, and the De Meuron and De Watteville Regiments were given some special attention. These regiments have been frequently referred to as the "Foreign Legion." They were composed of a variety of nationalities, including Germans, Poles, Belgians and Italians, who had been taken by the British as prisoners in the campaigns against Napoleon and pressed into the service of England to fight against the United States in the War of 1812-14. They were to receive two months' advance pay from date of decision and discharge. Colonel Darling was directed to superintend the reduction of the De Meurons and Major General De Watteville of the Glengarry Fencibles, and such of his own regiment as might choose to become settlers or receive their discharges in Upper Canada. And so the Order ran:

"Such officers and men of the Fencible and Foreign Corps alluded to, who may avail themselves of the gracious offers of

land and other encouragements which have been held out to them during the war in the United States (as the best testimony of the sense which His Majesty's Government entertains of their faithful services), are to be forwarded to the settlement on the Rideau or to that on the St. Francis (according to their option), where they will immediately receive from the Superintendent location tickets, conformable to the annexed schedule, and upon the conditions expressed in the General Order of the 9th June, 1815, viz.: That the grantee shall immediately settle thereon and that the lands cannot be alienated or disposed of until he shall have resided upon and cultivated a reasonable proportion of the same for the term of three years:

SCHEDULE	ACRES
Lt.-Colonel.....	1,200
Major.....	1,000
Captain.....	800
Subaltern.....	500
Sergeant Major and Qr. Master Sgt.	300
Sergeant.....	200
Privates.....	100

"The Superintendents will mark on the back of the discharges of each non-commissioned officer and soldier becoming a settler the date of the location, specifying also the township, number of lot and concession.

"The portion of De Watteville's regiment which may not accept settlement in this country are to be sent to Montreal for the purpose of being embarked for Europe, together with the remains of De Meuron's regiment, as soon as transports can be provided."⁴¹

And in the months of May and June inland from Brockville went these disbanded soldiers, transported also down the lake in Lindsay's scows and on to the promised land.

Meanwhile, at Perth-on-the-Tay, serious differences had arisen between the surveyors and the Superintendent. On the 8th of May McDonnell wrote to Reuben Sherwood, stating that he did so under the authority of Sir Gordon Drummond, that the lots for the locations of the settlers and discharged men should be marked with a post at four corners and one at each side of the centre side line containing within such boundary one hundred acres. Sherwood, in reporting to the Surveyor-General, pointed out that a method of this kind "would

cause an admeasurement of 444 miles of side lines in one township and would employ a surveyor a whole year to perform.”⁴²

Angus McDonnell was at his wit's end. Civilian settlers were pouring in daily, but in late May and June De Watteville's men came like a flood. Writing on the 18th June to Captain Fowler, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General at Quebec, the Superintendent says:

“I found myself placed in a most unpleasant predicament, from the not having in my power to place the men from the Regiment de Watteville on their lands. All that has been surveyed in township No. 1 “(the township of Bathurst)” has been located on the 13th inst.

“I called on Captain Sherwood and requested to know what lands had been surveyed in No. 2 “(Drummond).” I enclose his answer and field sketch. He informed me that what he had surveyed was very wet, and I have since been informed from good authority that such is the case, and that it is unfit for location.

“Had the time which has been employed in the survey of this township been devoted to No. 1, the whole of De Watteville's might have been placed on their lands, and you will in consequence, on your arrival here, find yourself at a loss where to place the located men. I must apprise you that the spirit of enterprise which appeared to actuate the De Watteville's on their first arrival has evaporated in consequence of their not being placed on their lands, and that some have already quitted the settlement and others have notified their intention of following their example.”⁴³

The Superintendent was filled with concern over his inability to carry on with efficacy and despatch his work of locating the rapidly oncoming settlers and civil and military alike. His difficulty lay in the fact that the surveyors were under the direction of the civil authorities—as for himself, he had been accustomed to act, and was now acting, under military discipline. Besides, in the almost impenetrable forest, the settler, without the faintest idea of distance or direction, could make but little of the surveyor's posts, set as they were only at one corner of a lot of two hundred acres, much of

Perth-on-the-Tay

which, as was often the case, lay embedded in a fathomless bog. He complains that the distance and misunderstanding of conditions renders it impossible for the Surveyor-General to understand. And Sherwood has been acting most perversely when, as McDonnell understood, Sherwood should have been taking orders from him. But on the 26th April, "contrary to my opinion," Captain Sherwood left the settlement and didn't return until the evening of the 7th of May, and even when he did come he was still in idleness by the 14th of May, when McDonnell, in a mixed state of anger and despair, wrote to the Governor's Secretary:

"I directed him yesterday to proceed to the survey of Township No. 2. This he flatly refused, and is gone up the river in a canoe with an Indian, and for what purpose I know not. I very respectfully request the interference of His Excellency in this instance, and correctly entreat that if the surveyors are not to be under my direction that Captain Sherwood may not be one of those employed, as he will throw such obstacles in my way as will impede the prospect of the settlement.

"I transmit the copy of Captain Sherwood's letter to me of the 13th instant. I wrote to him at the same date to proceed to the survey of Township No. 2, and I received this in answer to what he called my whim and fancy, nor endeavouring to carry into effect the positive orders which I had received of having the four corners of each lot ascertained by a post at each, and one on each side of the centre."⁴⁴

George Fowler, Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master-General, was at "Perth River Tay" by the 19th of June, and set about overcoming the difficulties arising out of the "continued embarrassment, contention and misunderstanding," and the "fatal effects of the Surveyor here having considered himself altogether independent of the Superintendent." Sherwood, however, is ready to work with Fowler. Surveys are to proceed with despatch and direct communications with Kingston and Brockville are to be immediately opened. Disbanded soldiers and new settlers from Europe are arriving in great numbers and Lieutenant-Governor Gore is pressed to provide at once fifteen additional surveyors for the Perth settlement alone. There was, however, the continuing doubt

in the minds of surveyors as to who should be responsible for their payment. These officials were in the pay of the Province, and were limited in their number and by their instructions. Fowler at once proceeded to procure advances from the military chest to be repaid later by the Province. This circumstance also gave rise to other discussions and disputes between the civil and military authorities, which is of no concern here. Suffice it to say that Captain Fowler's efforts relieved the tension over surveys, and Surveyor-General Ridout was assuring the Governor by the middle of July that every possible exertion would be made to perform the surveys required, by commanding the services of every deputy-surveyor in the Province, not already employed, and requiring him without delay to proceed to the Perth settlement and there to place himself under the orders of the Superintendent.

This brief outline of the founding of Perth-on-the-Tay and of the coming of the settlers, may now be closed with references to the accounts given of this new colony by some of the authorities who in the autumn of the first year of its existence paid their visits to the place. These reports show how far indeed the life was yet removed from the common and taken-for-granted things of our long-settled and established communities of to-day.

From Kingston, on the 21st of September, Colonel Cockburn reported to the Governor, Sir John Sherbrooke,⁴⁵ his account of "the depot at Perth, fully convinced that the new settlement will ultimately answer the most sanguine expectations that have been formed of it." But he finds much yet that ought to be done. The Superintendent's staff is inadequate. There should be frequent visitations of the settlers by an officer on whose reports the Superintendent could rely. Staff Surgeon Thoms cannot possibly of himself satisfy medical needs, and this officer recommends, and urgently requires, the building of a hospital. A barracks is necessary for the reception of all settlers, their families and effects, on their immediate arrival in the settlement, as otherwise they are for the most part exposed to the inclemencies of the weather. A schoolhouse is needed, and it will be probably some time



SIR JOHN C. SHERBROOKE
Governor-General of Canada, 1816-1818

By Courtesy of Dominion Archives

before a church is built, but "Your Excellency will, I trust, agree with me in thinking it absolutely necessary that a portion of land should be immediately cleared and railed in for a burying ground."⁴⁶

As already indicated, Sir Francis Gore, the Lieutenant-Governor, had assured Lord Bathurst, and the Governor of the Canadas also, that he would make every effort to forward the scheme of the settlement on the Rideau, having also assured Sir John Sherbrooke, on his visit to York, the summer of 1816, that an early visit would be made to the new establishment. Since, therefore, it is always of interest to know what we think of ourselves, it will be of more than passing worth to quote from the files of the *Kingston Gazette* of the 12th October, 1816, a report of a resident correspondent who described the Governor's visit to the Perth settlement on the River Tay:

"We were this day honoured by the presence of His Excellency, Lieutenant-Governor Gore, who accompanied by Major General Wilson and staff, paid this new settlement a visit. So early and at the same time so flattering a proof of His Excellency's patronage of our infant establishment could not fail of producing the best impression, as it inspired everyone with confidence, and led to the belief that our thriving prosperity was considered deserving the attention of the Government.

"On entering the village of Perth, the visitors were received by the principal inhabitants, consisting chiefly of officers lately belonging to the reduced Provincial Corps, and they were entertained by them at their mess table, which did great credit to their resources. The following day was appropriated to a minute examination into the internal system of economy adopted by the Quarter-Master-General's Department at this new settlement, with which His Excellency was pleased to express his entire satisfaction.

"The party shortly afterwards visited the neighbouring Scotch settlement, whose inhabitants lately arrived from the Highlands of Scotland, and appeared much pleased with their promising prospects. On visiting the lots reserved for public buildings, His Excellency was pleased to recommend one as being well calculated for the site of a place of general worship.

"Upwards of 1,400 persons have already established themselves within the townships comprised in this new settlement,

and although scarce twelve months have elapsed since the first settlers came there, many have already cleared and sown from six to ten acres of wheat, which will afford them next season the means of fulfillment and render them independent of the aid afforded by the Mother Country. Happy under the fostering protection of the British Government, and grateful for its liberal support, this flourishing settlement will (if called upon at some future period) cheerfully evince its gratitude by stretching forth its powerful aid in the general defence of this Province."

Evidently, indeed, the wish of the British Government and the Canadian military authorities to establish "a loyal population" in the back townships found early and favourable fulfilment, if the expression of this report could be considered as representative opinion of the "settlement on the Rideau."

Governor Gore's personal report to Sir John Sherbrooke briefly reviews his visit to Perth, where he arrived on the 7th October. He refers to the great delay in surveys and as a consequence it was late in the spring before any settlement really began. Settlers were exerting themselves to erect houses and cultivate their lands, but "a general alarm prevailed throughout the settlement that the assistance afforded by the Government in the supply of provisions till the settlers were enabled to support themselves were to be withdrawn. Some were leaving for the United States, where tempting inducements were offered. Those who had come from Europe had spent what small sums they possessed in fitting themselves out, and even if they had means they were so far from towns or villages that neither provisions or supplies could be had without Government aid. The Governor also found that the small crops of 1816 had been unproductive, and living as they were under canvas or in small huts, they were already beginning to feel the severity of the approaching winter. On the expectation in the minds of the settlers that they were to receive the assistance of the Government till they could subsist themselves, Sir Francis Gore earnestly requested the Governor to authorize the continuance of the issue of rations to the settlers arriving from Europe in Upper Canada.

Perth-on-the-Tay

The only account of the establishment on the Rideau that offers information in detail to the reader of our time comes from a report of Colonel Myers, the Deputy Quarter-Master-General, who, at the request of Sir John Sherbrooke, visited the locality in the late summer of 1816, and on the 23rd of October submitted his report, extracts from which are of the greatest interest:

“This settlement was commenced on the 18th April, 1816. The new village of Perth is situated on a small river now called the Tay (formerly the Pike), which empties itself into the Rideau Lake at about 5½ miles below it. It is distant from Brockville forty-two miles, twenty-one of which is an old-established, and good road; the remainder is a road recently cut through the woods and is good for the passage of waggons. Much praise is due to Captain Fowler for his exertions in opening this communication, by which a very great saving in transport has taken place.

“In the village there are twenty houses and in its immediate vicinity there are 250 habitations which will be in readiness for occupation before the winter. Amongst the settlers there are about 80 head of cattle and there are 800 bushels of fall wheat now in the ground. At present there are 840 men, 207 women and 458 children, equal to 1,100 military rations of provisions per day. The settlement generally is provisioned to the 24th October, about fifty families of Scotch to the 24th December, and provisions for the whole are at the Depot till the 24th January next. The settlers recently gone up are not included in this statement; their numbers as far as I can form a judgment will not exceed 200 rations per day. Of the number of settlers expected from the United States, and who had emigrated from home to that country, it is not possible to speak with any degree of certainty. I am of the opinion that none of the settlers of Perth and in its immediate neighbourhood are in a state to provide for themselves during the winter—the earliest of them only commenced on clearing their land in April last. I would, therefore, beg to recommend that rations of provisions be issued to them until next June. To those recently gone up, a further indulgence will, I think, be absolutely necessary.

“A difficulty occurs as to cover during this winter for the settlers who have just gone up, and to obviate which I

would recommend that £200 be appropriated to pay artificers to work (and to instruct those settlers who are willing to labour) in the construction of log buildings to the extent required. A site would be chosen for them so that they might be turned to some public purpose after the settlers have gone on their lands in the spring. In the meantime, until Your Excellency's pleasure is known, those settlers are preparing logs under the guidance of a person acquainted with such work, who is to receive seven shillings and sixpence a day and a ration whilst so employed.

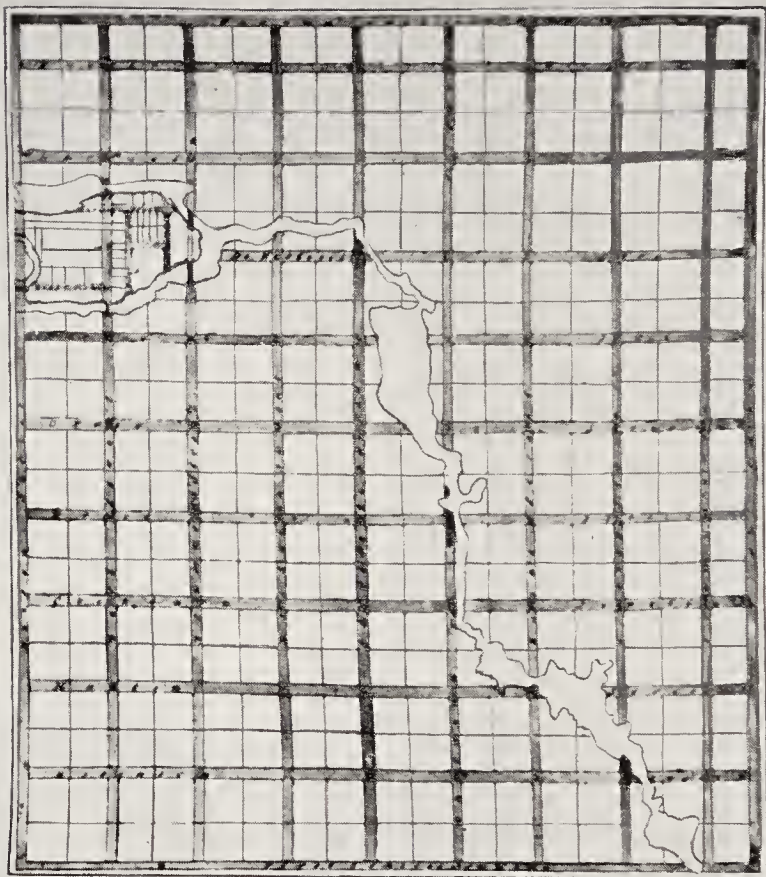
"Three surveyors are now at work laying out lands, and two more are expected, to whom, as approved by Your Excellency, Captain Fowler is to make partial advances of money to be repaid periodically by the Provincial Government of Upper Canada, as soon as the new settlers are put in possession of their lands, and which I trust will be the case by the 24th December next. I think that the whole business of the settlement, including the issue of provisions, may be conducted by Mr. Daverne, the present Secretary, assisted by a clerk and issuer, and one man in the stores."⁴⁷

Colonel Myers further recommended that Captain Fowler should have an increase of pay to £300 a year, and have a general oversight of settlement, and compliments the captain for his zeal and diligence during the seven months of his attachment to the establishment.

It might be here remarked that Fowler had taken direct charge of the settlement during the late summer, displacing McDonnell, whose efforts at land speculation, limited though they were, had served to cause his removal from the post of Superintendent, which shortly fell into the hands of Joseph Daverne, continuing with him until the summer of 1819.

The commissariat was to remain at Fort Wellington (the Prescott of to-day), and the expenses of transport were to be part of it.

The days that were to come—the glaring instances of favouritism shown by some of those who continued to administer the establishment—the deceit practised by Government officials who had to flee for safety—the beginning of churches and schools and mills and shops and all that went to establish the life of the pioneer community—the long story



A PLAN of the TAMAR or PERTH

Perth-on-the-Tay

of the continued rise and progress of the settlement in the hurrying march of the onward years—these and more remain for the hand of the historian to revive and set in order. Perth-on-the-Tay, stately and substantial, with over one hundred years of history behind her, rising almost into a tradition, spends her quiet life upon the little stream once called Pike River. Nor would it be making any invidious distinction to aver that Perth possesses a quality and a character distinctive and different from that of any other among the many rather remarkable and so often picturesque towns and villages throughout what was once the District of Bathurst, and the fair town of Perth continues to-day as the county seat of Lanark, which Thomas Macqueen, with characteristic enthusiasm, referred to in later years as “the foremost County of Upper Canada.”

III

RICHMOND AND THE DUKE

*"There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gather'd then
Her Beauty and her Chivalry, and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;
A thousand hearts beat happily, and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes looked love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage bell,
But hush! Hark! A deep sound strikes like a
rising knell!"*

THIS charming picture, in which Lord Byron has immortalized the famous ball given by the Duke and Duchess of Richmond in Brussels, on the night before the engagement at Quatre Bras, seems, indeed, far from the forest scenes of British North America. The boom of the distant cannon, breaking ominously across the festive night, foretold the untimely death of "Brunswick's fated chieftain." But no one could suspect that, as Her Grace of Richmond looked out upon the joyful throng, her own lord, too, would, under unusual circumstances, take leave of life in a distant land, ere yet but few of the coming years had passed.

The origin of the noble house of Richmond and Lennox is well known. Beginning in 1675, when Charles the Second created his illegitimate son Charles Duke of Richmond, Earl of March and Baron Sterrington, and, in a few weeks, added the titles of Duke of Lennox, Earl of Darnley and Baron Tarbolton, the son of the famous Louise de Querouaille, Duchess of Portsmouth, was ushered into the nobility of England with a veritable distinction of titles.

The seven Dukes of Richmond of the Lennox line have all borne the Christian name of Charles. The Second Duke, if not of personal renown, is famous through his grandsons. One daughter, the Lady Caroline Lennox, was the mother of Charles James Fox, the great British statesman; and the two

sons of the Duke's other daughter, the beautiful Lady Sarah Lennox, became the distinguished Generals, Sir Charles and Sir William Napier, the latter being also among the outstanding military historians of England, as the author of the "History of the War in the Peninsula."

Among unusual Englishmen of the eighteenth century, the third Duke of Richmond must be given a place. Advanced in his views on Parliamentary Reform, British Ambassador at Paris in 1765, firmly supporting the views of the American Colonists in their struggle with the Crown, and taking an unusual attitude of conciliation toward Ireland, this distinguished nobleman, dying in 1806, left behind him a public career worthy in every way of emulation.

But Charles, the Fourth Duke of Richmond and Lennox, coming into the title as nephew of the third duke, who left no legitimate children, could hardly be said to continue the intellectual quality of his uncle. And yet throughout his life he held many offices of distinction, occupying at his death the post of Governor-General of the Canadas.

As a young man, Richmond entered the army and, through his uncle's influence, he was rapidly promoted to be the captain of a company in the Coldstream Guards, then commanded by His Royal Highness the Duke of York. This gave him the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and his engaging personality brought him a wide circle of friends. Nor was he wanting in courage, for an occasion presently arose that set the public prints of Britain all agog. This, indeed, was nothing less than a challenge offered by Colonel Lennox to the Duke of York, his commanding officer. The *Gentlemen's Magazine* for the 25th of May, 1789, has a reference to the affair:

"A dispute having lately happened between His Royal Highness the Duke of York and Colonel Lennox, of the Coldstream Guards, concerning some words spoken at Daubigny's Club, the colonel, not knowing any better way to clear up the matter, has written a circular letter to every member of the club, desiring each of them to let him know if he can recollect any expression to have been used in his presence which could bear the construction put upon it by public report. These

letters are dated Richmond House, May 18, and an answer is desired in seven days; but that if no such expression should occur to memory, then no answer need be sent."

The cause of the quarrel was slight—even trivial—a remark by the duke that Lennox had been spoken to in a manner that no gentleman as a member of Daubigny's Club should allow. But the colonel's pride was aroused, and it mattered not that royalty was concerned. On Tuesday, the 26th of May, the *Magazine* reported the circumstances of the duel:

"To preclude the unfounded representations which may be propagated respecting an affair that took place this day, the seconds think it necessary to give the following authenticated account: 'In consequence of a dispute of which much has been said in the public papers, His Royal Highness the Duke of York, attended by Lord Rawdon, and Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox, accompanied by the Earl of Winchelsea, met at Wimbledon Common. The ground was measured at twelve paces, and both parties were to fire on a signal agreed upon. The signal being given, Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox fired, and the ball grazed His Royal Highness' curl. The Duke of York didn't fire. Lord Rawdon then interfered and said that he thought enough had been done. Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox observed that His Royal Highness had not fired. Lord Rawdon said it was not the Duke's intention to fire; His Royal Highness had come out upon Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox's desire, to give him satisfaction, and had no animosity against him. Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox pressed that the Duke of York would fire, which was declined upon a repetition of the reason. Lord Winchelsea then went up to the Duke of York and expressed his hope that His Royal Highness would have no objection to say he considered Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox as a man of honour and courage. His Royal Highness replied that he should say nothing. He had come out to give Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox satisfaction, and did not mean to fire at him. Lieutenant-Colonel Lennox said he could not possibly fire again at the Duke, as His Royal Highness did not mean to fire at him. On this, both parties left the ground. The seconds think it proper to add that both parties behaved with the most perfect intrepidity.

“‘RAWDON,
“‘WINCHELSEA’.

“Tuesday evg., May 26th, 1789.”

An Irish barrister named Swift, who published a pamphlet at the time reflecting on Colonel Lennox's conduct, was also promptly challenged. In the duel which followed Swift was wounded in the arm.

Royalty, indeed, did not quite forget the incident where the Duke of York was concerned, for it presently appeared that Colonel Lennox was far from being *persona grata* with the royal family. On the evening of the 4th of July, in the same year, there was a court ball to celebrate the King's birthday, when Colonel Lennox appeared in the festivities with the lovely Lady Catharine Barnard. The *Gentlemen's Magazine* again reports the circumstance:

"When Lennox and his partner came down the dance to where the Prince of Wales and Princess Royal stood, the Prince led his sister to the Queen, who said to him, 'You seem heated, Sir, and tired.' 'I am heated and tired, Madam,' said the Prince, 'not with the dance, but tired of dancing in such company.' 'Then, Sir,' said the Queen, 'It will be better for me to withdraw and put an end to the Ball.' 'It certainly will be so,' replied the Prince, 'for I never will countenance insults given to my family, however they may be treated by others.' At the end of the dance, Her Majesty withdrew and the ball abruptly concluded. The Prince of Wales, with his natural gallantry, explained to Lady Catharine Barnard the reason for his conduct."

It would be going too far afield to follow out in any intimate manner the fortunes of Colonel Lennox, who, in 1806, became the fourth Duke of Richmond. A few brief references, however, serve to lighten the story. The sporting characteristics of some of his ancestors found room for play in him. At his estate of Goodwood, in Sussex, he established a race-track, and his gaming transactions have been reported as seriously impairing his fortunes. In passing it may be observed that the Goodwood Cup is still a notable event and a coveted prize in the world that belongs to the sport of kings. But his powerful family connections came to his aid from time to time. In the year 1807 he was appointed Lord

Lieutenant of Ireland, and held the post until 1813. In this office he was affable and condescending, gaining the esteem of the people, trying to show his desire to relieve their distress and promote their happiness. Indeed, the newspapers of the time give a glowing description of the latest annual dinner, in Dublin on the 19th of April, 1819, the anniversary of Richmond's arrival in Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, celebrated with warmth and enthusiasm, and attended by the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of Tuam and many other dignitaries.

Though trained as a soldier, Richmond's course really lay along the paths of civil life. In the days before Waterloo, he followed in the suite of Wellington, though not engaged in arms. From 1813 to the spring of 1818, he was in fact resident in Belgium. On the 7th of May of this year, he took the oath as Governor-General of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick and the Islands of Prince Edward and Cape Breton; and on the 28th of July he arrived at Quebec, on board of the British man-of-war, the *Iphigenia*. He was accompanied by his son-in-law, Sir Peregrine Maitland, who had been appointed the Lieutenant-Governor of the Upper Province. Sir Peregrine, who had won many honours in the war with France, and had been created Knight Commander of the Bath for his services at Waterloo, had been for a time estranged from the duke over his marriage with the Lady Sarah Lennox, which was at first displeasing to Richmond. But all that had now passed. Her Grace the Duchess remained in England, and their numerous family of seven sons and seven daughters were divided between parents, only five or six accompanying the Duke to Canada. It might be expected, as was indeed the case, that the arrival of these distinguished noblemen was looked upon by the Canadians as conferring a signal honour upon the country.

On the 15th of August the *Iphigenia* sailed again for England, carrying home Sir John Coape Sherbrooke, who had been the Governor-General of Canada for only two years. Although also all his life a soldier, and one of Wellington's veterans too, yet his moderate and conciliatory management



THE DUKE OF RICHMOND
Governor-General of Canada, 1818-1819

By Courtesy of Dominion Archives



SIR PEREGRINE MAITLAND
Lieut.-Governor of Upper Canada, 1818-1828

By Courtesy of Dominion Archives

of affairs, in the Lower Province especially, left a record that his successor unfortunately made little effort to emulate.

The settlement which came to bear the name of the new Governor now demands our attention. When the first confusion over the establishment at Perth was turning into some degree of order, Colonel Francis Cockburn, on the 21st of September, 1816, wrote from Kingston to Sherbrooke, giving a rapid survey of some of the prevailing conditions. This communication has already been summarized in so far as it concerns the settlement on the Tay.

"But," wrote Cockburn, "while the new settlement will ultimately answer the most sanguine expectations that have been formed of it, provided the means for its furtherance are suffered to keep pace with its extension," yet the extensions are now so considerable that other depots for supply and management seem altogether necessary. Accordingly new and definite proposals are outlined. "I should also recommend another village being laid out between Townships 3 and 4, upon the same establishment as that at Perth, and, if this is approved of, every measure should be adopted to prevent any time being lost in cutting the road during the dry season, so as to admit of the provisions being sent out and the land surveyed during the winter, by which means the settlers might be placed on their lands early in the ensuing spring."¹

Townships 3 and 4 became, on completion of the surveys, the townships of Beckwith and Goulbourn—the former a township in Lanark, the latter a township in Carleton County, and both as they are in our own day.

But already the cost of colonization along the Rideau waters was rapidly mounting and, with the cessation of war both in Europe and across the sea, the British Government was bending its endeavour toward the curtailing of public expenditure. From London, therefore, early in 1817, Lord Bathurst was calling for retrenchment, and from Quebec Sir John Sherbrooke was sending repeated assurances that "my most vigilant attention shall be paid to keeping down expenses as much as possible," but it had to be remembered that the settlers of the year before were sent out too late, that the Government of Upper Canada failed to furnish surveyors

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

adequate to the task demanded of them, and that as yet the settlers were struggling, for, even this year, crops were poor and prospects uninviting.

Nevertheless, during 1817 and the earlier months of 1818, there was an ever-growing extension of the community to the eastwards across the townships of Beckwith and Goulbourn, even although no action had yet been taken for the establishment of another depot, as Colonel Cockburn had recommended so many months before. Moreover, the incoming settlers, soldier and civil alike, arriving at Perth and seeking out their locations, if in these townships, were compelled to struggle over the forest trails twenty miles and more in the direction of the Ottawa, carrying on their backs or transporting as best they could, rations and implements of husbandry from Perth-on-the-Tay.

In August, 1817, Colonel Myers, the Deputy Quarter-Master-General, was making representations to the Governor over the advisability of having emigrant settlers ascend the Ottawa from Montreal, rather than follow, as they had all along done, the more circuitous route by Prescott, Brockville and Perth. The recommendation of this new way to the settlements entailed, of course, the need of carrying a month's rations,

"At the expiration of which time," says Myers, "I have little doubt but Mr. Philemon Wright, who farms largely at the mouth of the Rideau, would contract to furnish them with rations at a reasonable rate."²

But, as yet, there were no roads inland from the Ottawa River, nor was there any organized transport along the Ottawa. The establishment of the new village of Richmond during the summer of the next year laid the foundation for a permanent traffic over the Lower Ottawa route. Thereafter, also, "that cute old Yankee," as Lord Dalhousie, at a later time and in a quite friendly way, referred to Philemon Wright,³ found himself, his men, and his teams engaged in a somewhat extensive business in and across the townships westward from the Richmond Landing. During the year 1818, and afterwards, this was the familiar name of a little bay at the foot of Chau-

diere Falls, on the Upper Canada side of the Ottawa River, and was, in these early days, a place of some real consequence in the course of business then developing along the Ottawa, and a place that witnessed many usual, as well as unusual, scenes in the pioneering life of the time. For the founding of Bytown was yet some eight years in the future.

In the early summer of 1818, the military authorities in Canada determined to demobilize the 99th Regiment of Foot, which had been a consolidation of the older 99th and 100th Regiments, and which had been for some time stationed at Quebec, after having faithfully served their country in Wellington's Peninsular campaign and in Canada later in the War of 1812-14. Conditions in the old land were gradually becoming more and more unfavourable for their return, and, being offered the opportunity of settling in Canada, they decided in favour of the Upper Province.

There is a tradition coming down the years, and oft repeated in a variety of prints, that ascribes to the officers of this regiment the designation of the new village to which the regiment was destined to proceed. The following account by a descendant of Sergeant McElroy, of the old 99ths, and who followed mercantile pursuits in Richmond village for many years, sets forth the time-honoured story:

"On the 28th day of July of that year (1818), a large fleet of Durham boats and batteaux, which had been got ready, with all arrangements completed and with officers and men on board, was about to start out on its journey, when, as they were sailing out of the harbour, the British man-of-war which bore the Duke of Richmond, then arriving to assume the Governor-Generalship of British North America, passed in; and it was then and there decided, at a meeting of the officers on board one of the boats, to name the place which they were about to settle RICHMOND, in honour of His Grace the Duke."¹

But the official records in the Archives at Ottawa compel a revision of the story. On the 13th of July Colonel Cockburn wrote to Sir John Sherbrooke, who, in a few days, was to be

succeeded as Governor by the Duke of Richmond, pointing out the urgent need for a new depot in the Rideau settlement, to which at this date no name had been definitely assigned.

"I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that it appears from the report of Captain Fowler, as likewise from other communications received by me on the same subject, that the lots of ground in the Rideau settlement have been granted to so great a distance from the depot at Perth, as to render it absolutely necessary to establish another depot in some other part of the settlement, previous to putting the 400 men of the 99th on their lands, and from whence they may receive their provisions and implements with promptness and facility. I would, therefore, respectfully recommend to your Excellency's consideration the propriety of measures being immediately taken for the formation of a new village, a proper site for which might, I have no doubt, be found on the River Jaque, which runs through the southern part of the township of Goulbourn, and empties itself into the Rideau only a few miles from the Ottawa. That our new establishment should be as near the Ottawa as possible, is, I think, desirable on every account, but more particularly so with a view to the great object of opening a communication from the Ottawa to Kingston on the line of the River Rideau.

"Should Your Excellency approve of this arrangement, it will be necessary to direct a surveyor to proceed to the situation I have pointed out, for the purpose of laying out the village as soon as the spot is determined on. The plan of the village must to a certain degree depend upon local circumstances, but in its construction I should propose to follow as nearly as possible the same plan which was adopted at Perth. I should also recommend that the same number of officers, etc., which are borne on the establishment of Perth be allowed for the new village, and that Captain Burke, of the 99th, be appointed secretary and storekeeper accordingly. The appointment of this officer, from the very high esteem he is held in by the corps, will, I trust, be the means of giving general satisfaction to the settlers from the 99th, and of reconciling them to those habits of industry so essentially necessary for their own welfare, as well as for the ultimate advantage of the settlement."⁵

Without any record in so many words, the reader can readily understand how the Quarter-Master-General's office,

and those around the Governor, and all doubtless in daily conference with the officers of the 99th, would be full of the new project. Every one concerned was doubtless planning and preparing all the countless requisites demanded by this new enterprise—another special scheme of soldier settlement. Not the least, indeed, would be the naming of the new village in the woods along the Jaque. And the naming, whether done by the officers of the 99th or by the Quarter-Master-General, or otherwise, was evidently settled within a very few days. In any event, the name was fixed upwards of ten days, at least, before the Duke of Richmond arrived in Canada, and before the event in Sergeant McElroy's relation could possibly have taken place.

On the 17th of July Colonel Cockburn wrote to the Governor's Secretary, and in this letter is to be found the first official designation of the village, which ever since has borne the name of the new and then daily expected Governor. The communication also indicated something of the unlooked-for delays with which these military settlers were yet to meet in getting to their forest homes.

"As a considerable time must elapse before the men of the 99th can be put upon their lands at the Richmond settlement, it has been determined that they shall remain at Lachine until we can arrange matters at the new settlement for their reception. I have, therefore, to request you will send the necessary authority to the Commissary-General for their being provisioned while so detained, on the requisitions and receipts of the officer or non-commissioned officer in charge of them. A proportion of them, amounting to twenty or thirty, will proceed direct to Richmond with Captain Burke. To these men it will be necessary to advance one month's rations."⁶

A month later the regiment was still at Lachine, and authority was asked for an allowance of "two cords of wood per week during their stay, or such further quantity as the barrack master at Lachine may consider absolutely necessary."

Colonel Burke and his small contingent of militiamen set out for the new depot, leaving the great body of discharged soldiers and their families at Lachine. Their route was up

the Ottawa to the Richmond Landing, and on through the bush to the proposed site of the new depot on the River Jaque. Surveyors were procured for laying out the townsite, and through the month of August no effort was spared to put the place in order. Government and other necessary buildings were erected as speedily as possible, and Richmond was placed in all respects on a footing similar to the establishment at Perth two years before. Colonel G. T. Burke became secretary and storekeeper, with an allowance of rations and a room in the Government building. The other officers were Herbert Whitemart, clerk; S. Dempsey, issuer of stores; each to be allowed rations and half a room. Gerard Fitzgerald was designated assistant issuer of stores, at two shillings a day, but his accommodation has not been recorded.

The provision made by Government would not appear to our day as offering very generous treatment, except perhaps in land grants—and of land, indeed, there was prodigal supply lying all about in endless profusion. These grants were: To a private, 100; a sergeant, 200; a lieutenant, 400; and a captain, 800 acres. The additional emoluments were, free transport to the settlement for families as well as men and their small belongings, and a miserable pension of from sixpence to one shilling per day as out-pensioners of Chelsea Hospital. Regular allowances of army rations for the first twelve months were also provided, and, further, the head of each family was entitled to receive: 1 axe, 1 broad axe, 1 mattock, 1 pickaxe, 1 spade, 1 shovel, 1 hoe, 1 scythe, 1 drawknife, 1 hammer, 1 handsaw, 2 scythe stones, 2 files, 12 panes of glass and 1 pound of putty, 12 pounds of wrought nails in three sizes, 1 camp kettle, 1 bed tick and blanket. To every five settlers there were allotted: 1 crosscut saw, 1 whipsaw and 1 grindstone. For the use of the settlement generally two complete sets of carpenter's tools were given. Provision was also made for the supply of a schoolmaster and a clergyman of the Established Church, who should expect to come under the direction of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.

Towards the end of August the settlers came up the Ottawa from Lachine and disembarked at the Richmond Landing. Their families here lived in tents and cantonments until

the autumn was far advanced, while the men were engaged in cutting roads, transporting supplies and helping to complete the establishment at Richmond, looking out also for their lots of land as the officers at the depot were ready to issue the tickets of location. The road over which the course of portage and carriage lay was for the most part what is known as the Richmond Road to-day. And while the new village was designated Richmond, the river on which it was situated took on the new name of Goodwood, after one of the English estates of the new Governor-General, to which reference has already been made. This river also, throughout the years since, has been indifferently called the Goodwood or the Jock, the latter having taken on an English spelling and pronunciation.

Again Colonel Cockburn's record must be referred to, for this very busy and faithful officer never for a moment abated his diligence or his interest wherever the welfare of the military settlements was at all concerned. Indeed, so highly were his services held to be that on application to the Duke of Richmond he was granted an extra indemnity of twenty shillings a day onwards from the fifth of January, 1819, and at a later time a like sum to run from Christmas Day, 1817, to the date of Richmond's provision, amounting to £378.

Colonel Cockburn visited the Richmond settlement in late October and early November, 1818, when it was yet hardly three months old, and gives us the earliest glimpse of the beginning of community life in these parts. His report is dated November 29th, and made to the Duke of Richmond, the Governor-General:

"The place fixed on for the landing of all articles going to the new settlement at Richmond is in a small but remarkably fine bay, situated just below the Chaudiere Falls. From this bay to the village of Richmond is a distance of about twenty miles, and by the great exertion of Captain Burke (the secretary) and the settlers, a very good road had been made from the one place to the other.

"The spot fixed on for the village of Richmond is in the north-east angle of the township of Goulbourn, and its establishment promises to render the greatest possible assistance in the important object of obtaining throughout the new military townships an industrious and loyal population.

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

"The settlers from Perth had, from their great and increasing numbers, been unavoidably placed so far from that village as to render their occasional visits to it difficult in the extreme, and had the disbanded soldiers of the 99th been put down there, the want of roads, and the distance they must have travelled through the woods to have obtained their provisions, would have been tantamount to withholding the indulgence of rations from them altogether.

"It was under these circumstances that the late Commander of the Forces so strongly recommended to His Grace the Duke of Richmond the formation of a new establishment in the township of Goulbourn, and I am sincerely happy in being able to state that the most sanguine expectations respecting its utility have been amply fulfilled. Four hundred heads of families have already been located in the vicinity of Richmond, several houses are building in the village, and seven or eight half-pay officers have fixed upon it as their future place of residence.

"The road, or rather the track, which is opening between Richmond and Perth, runs in the direction of the base line of the new millitary townships, and generally speaking about two miles from it. It is on this road, and as nearly as circumstances will admit in the centre of the township of Beckwith, that a provision store is to be built.

"The road will be sufficiently opened in the course of a month to admit of the sleighs passing over it during the winter, and I would earnestly recommend that an expenditure of three or four hundred pounds, exclusive of two or three months' rations and rum, might be allowed for the payment and subsistence of about eighty men to be employed in making it passable for waggons during the summer.

"A reference to the accompanying plan will show that when this road is opened and a provision store built in Beckwith, each of the new townships will be equally eligible for a settlement, and thus a very large proportion of land will be anxiously sought after which the settlers have hitherto been averse to being placed on."

The road indicated in Colonel Cockburn's plan leads westward from the Ottawa River through the township of Nepean, which appears to have been partly surveyed, in the neighbourhood of the Ottawa, at least, during the winter of 1793, or early in 1794. The tradition is that John Stegman,

who laid out the survey, was drowned in the Rideau River. The more inland portion of the township, and part of the township of Goulbourn, were finished by John McNaughton, acting under the direction of Reuben Sherwood. A large portion of this township had been "drawn" before and at the beginning of the century, by United Empire Loyalists, many of whom never saw their lands. But the holdings gave rise to speculation and trafficking and retarded for years the settlement of the township. Except along the Rideau River, where early comers, like Rice Honeywell and Ira, his son, Samuel and Marble Dow, and a few others had located, the township was still awaiting settlers when the establishment at Richmond was formed. Three years earlier Chapman had located on the Goodwood River, and William Bell had a shanty tavern where Bell's Corners languishes to-day.

In the earlier part of 1818 McNaughton was surveying the township of Goulbourn, which had been relieved of the Indian title by a treaty arranged the year before, and was one of the few townships in the region of the military settlements that took the name of one who was not directly engaged in war, but who nevertheless was concerned in the military arrangements of these years. Henry Goulbourn, in 1808, entered the British House of Commons as Member for Hosham. Five years later he was given the post of Under Secretary for War and the Colonies, with Lord Bathurst as his Chief, and in this capacity he acted until he became Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and held various important portfolios in later years under Wellington and Peel. The township, in the north-east corner of which the village of Richmond was placed, was named in honour of this English statesman.

A brief outline of the beginnings of things in and around Richmond is all that can here be given.

The Government, early in 1819, redeemed its promise of providing a schoolmaster and of erecting a schoolhouse, and a man named Read took up the duties with the distinction of being the first teacher in what is now the County of Carleton, at a salary of £50 per annum, paid by the Government. The expense accounts of the settlement indicate that from the

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

25th of September, 1820, Stephen Eynough succeeded to the charge, and when soon after Government aid was withdrawn, he continued, with the help of the settlers, in charge of the school as best he could under the conditions of the time. Incidentally it may be added that while still a young man his death in Richmond gave occasion for the first Masonic funeral in the county.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts did not respond so readily, and the church life of the community was not so carefully cultivated, especially, at least, by the Church of England, as was the declared intention at the outset. The first church services in the settlement were the masses sung by the Rev. Father Macdonell, and one who came to the soldier settlers with great acceptance. For in 1794 he had raised as a Catholic Corps the "Glengarry Fencible," or, "British Highland Regiment." Moreover, none better than he knew the hopes and fears of those to whom he carried the Church's message. He had himself been a leader in a pioneer movement in 1803, and was instrumental in having the British Government settle in the County of Glengarry the men of the Glengarry Regiment, with their wives and children. For some thirty years his life was devoted to the missions of Upper Canada, and the Roman Catholic families in and around Richmond were immediately gathered under his care. His visits were few, for in January, 1819, he was nominated Vicar-Apostolic of Upper Canada, and consecrated on the last day of December, 1820, continuing however, to reside for many years at St. Raphael's, in Glengarry. Father Heron came periodically until 1825 or 1826, when the first Roman Catholic church was erected.

Methodism found its way also to the settlement. The itinerant missionary, travelling about on horseback or on foot, amid the interminable swamps and rocks of the Bathurst District, and along "gulley" and bush trails—an exhausting and distressing round of duty—brought his message "without any authority but the Bible and no distinction save the Cross." Such was the service of the Rideau Circuit by this denomination, till the later coming of a permanent preacher, Ezra Healy—tall and commanding, with "a strong, clear,





Richmond, on the River Jacques, or Goodwood, a tributary of the Rudeau River, Sep. 1830.

RICHMOND IN 1830

musical reverberating voice of such great compass that it could as easily command the ears of an assembly of five or six thousand as of half-a-dozen, and who used to say his 'lungs would last as long as his legs.'"⁸

The earliest resident minister of any faith was the Rev. Mr. Glen, a Presbyterian, and in the little cemetery of that church near the village two elm trees mark his resting place.

No services of the Established Church were regularly held until the arrival of the Rev. Michael Harris, in Perth, in the autumn of 1819, and he, like Father MacDonnell, became for years the spiritual guide of all the outlying settlements and hamlets all over the District. He performed the first marriage in the settlement, when Jane Campbell became the bride of Sergeant John Dunbar.

Indeed, the village of Richmond was a rather flourishing town for more than half a dozen years, at least before Bytown, the forerunner of Ottawa, began to take shape at the beginning of the construction of the Rideau Canal in 1826. Richmond was planned upon a generous scale. There were grants of two, four and six acres each for the residence of the clergy, for the church and for the graveyard of each of three "established" Churches—the Anglican, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholic, no "dissenters" being deemed worthy. Six acres were left for a "park," and the school was constructed. The town-hall is there to-day.

While Bytown was still in the distance and undreamed of, this possible future city on the Goodwood River had become a business and commercial centre of some consequence. There were at least a dozen good general stores, four breweries and two distilleries, a sawmill, gristmill, carding-mill and shops providing the general services of all the common trades, like those of waggon-maker, blacksmith, harness-maker and cooper.

In July, 1819, there was established a regular post along the line of the Ottawa River, leaving Montreal every Tuesday morning at 8 a.m., through St. Eustache, St. Andrew's and Grenville, and on to Hull and Richmond.

But the ancient glory of Richmond has departed. It is to-day a quiet hamlet, set in a beautiful countryside, sleeping in the summer days on the bank of the River Jock, whose

waters, with the disappearance of the forests that with such a beautiful luxuriance then covered the low banks of the stream, have dwindled in the shallow reaches almost to disappearance also. But in the historical annals of Canada, the quiet inland village of Richmond, or rather its immediate vicinity, became the scene of the death of Richmond's Duke, and Canada's Governor-General, under circumstances unusually sad and tragic.

It is not here the place to review the administration of the Duke as Governor. He had grown up in military life. The age was given over, through necessity, to military affairs—at least they were uppermost in the conduct of affairs. But the Canadas were growing into a consciousness of civil life that meant opposition, in civil affairs, at least, to the military attitude and to anything approaching autocracy. And in the Lower Province there was the constant turmoil over the conflict of races—as Durham found even twenty years later—"Two races warring in the bosom of a single state."

Kingsford, the Canadian historian, in a few rather uncomplimentary words, sums up this administration of a year's continuance: "In a political sense, he was the worst Governor that ever arrived in Lower Canada." But if Richmond found himself, as was indeed the case, in almost daily conflict with the Legislature, the experience was nothing new. Since the beginning of the century the unhappy situation had been developing. The instructions from the Home Office held to the view that the Governor must rule. Any concession to the Popular House meant a loss of the rights of the Crown and the undoubted possibility of separation. With gathering force, through the onward years, the conflict grew even more menacing, until the days of Papineau and Mackenzie and on to the Union.

Alike, in Canada as in England, the kindliness and personal charm of the Duke of Richmond readily caught the popular fancy, especially in English-speaking Canada. He was deeply interested, too, in the colonizing experiments of the Upper Province, so commonly designated The Military Settlements. These he decided to include in his intended visit, and particularly the new village so recently established under

his name. Already, in September of the year before, and within a few weeks of his arrival in Canada, he had paid a hurried visit to Kingston, York, and Niagara Falls.

There are many, various and, in part, conflicting accounts of His Excellency's ill-fated visit to Upper Canada in the summer of 1819, and unless some new and more authentic sources of information are yet to be found, the details in places must be left to the realm of conjecture. About the 21st of June the Duke of Richmond, accompanied by two of his sons and three daughters, and with a general suite of servants and attendants, set out from Quebec on board the steamboat *Lady Sherbrooke*. Throughout the journey among those in immediate attendance upon the Governor were Colonel Bowles, his military secretary, Lieutenant-Colonel Francis Cockburn, the Deputy Quarter-Master-General, and Sir Charles Saxton, of the Quebec Garrison. When the party arrived at Sorel, 195 miles up the river, they arranged to stay for some days.

Colonel Cockburn hurried on ahead, going by way of Lachine and the Ottawa, into the military settlements of Richmond and Perth. This was in consequence of certain reports that had come to Quebec, indicating that at Perth in particular irregularities arising over the conduct of the Secretary, Daverne, demanded investigation. This business being overtaken, Cockburn hurried on to rejoin the Vice-regal party at Prescott, going across the country from Perth depot. At Sorel the Duke and his suite stayed at Fort William Henry, and whilst walking about the village with his little dog Blucher, His Grace came across a pet fox which was owned by one of the English soldiers at the Fort. The dog and the fox appeared to be sociable and entered into play together. This so pleased the Duke that he expressed something like a wish for the purchase of the fox. One of the servants in his suite acted on the hint the same evening. Next morning, on the 28th of June, Sir Charles Saxton, seeing the fox tied to a tent pitched for the accommodation of the servants, and apparently much irritated from his restrained situation under a scorching sun, desired that the animal be removed into the shade and fastened to a wicket gate near the house. His Grace, on coming out in

the morning, observed the fox, which he knew to be the same he had seen the day before, went over to the little animal, saying, "Is this you, my little fellow." Putting out his hand to caress the fox, although Sir Charles Saxton endeavoured to prevent him, indicating the irritation of the animal and that he might bite, the Duke said: "No! No! the little fellow will not bite me." But immediately the fox snapped at the outstretched hand, making his teeth almost meet in the flesh of the right thumb, and somewhat severely scratching the back of the hand. Quickly drawing back his hand, His Grace exclaimed: "Indeed, my friend, you bite very hard." The next morning the Duke experienced an uneasy sensation in his shoulder. It was soon forgotten, but the germs of rabies had been well implanted. The bite of the little fox led directly to the grave.

Late in the evening of Monday, the 28th of June, the day on which the incident just related occurred, the Governor and his party arrived at the Mansion House in Montreal, and on the 3rd of July they left for an extended visit to Upper Canada. A week later the Governor of Nova Scotia, the Earl of Dalhousie, also arrived in Montreal, and, after a two days' visit, proceeded inland, joining the Duke of Richmond at Kingston, and they went in company to Toronto and Niagara. Dalhousie's visit was a short one, for he was back again in Montreal on the 24th of July.

The Governor-General, however, went as far west as Drummond Island in Lake Huron, then the most distant military outpost. Brief, but illuminating, references in the letters of Mrs. William Dumnier Powell, the wife of the Chief Justice of Upper Canada, and written from York, reveal the general feeling of acceptance with which, as already indicated, the people greeted the Governor, both on his former visit and again on this occasion.

"I have had the honour of seeing Lady Sarah Maitland, and found her a most unaffected woman, perfectly affable and desiring to be on easy terms of acquaintance with us all—the same affability marks the manners of His Grace, and the lords and ladies who are his children."⁹

On his visit to York, His Excellency stopped overnight at Mount Pleasant, by that time a considerable village, and in honour of the distinguished visitor the name was changed to that of Richmond Hill. It, too, has a wealth of local history, witnessing as well some of the scenes and incidents of 1837.

About the middle of August the Duke arrived at Kingston on his homeward journey. Here he greatly enjoyed himself in the company of the 70th Regiment, playing at cricket and racquets and riding about with the officers. From here the intention was to return to Montreal by way of the Rideau and Ottawa routes, and through the Military Settlements, whereby His Grace would have an opportunity of seeing particularly the year-old village of Richmond to which the giving of the ducal name brought an added interest.

At Kingston, Lord William, the Lady Mary Lennox, and the other children quitted His Excellency. They arrived in Montreal about the 23rd, there to await the coming of the Duke, who proposed to hold a levee and drawing-room at the Mansion House Hotel, in the afternoon of Monday, the 30th of August, of which due announcement had been given in the Montreal papers some ten days before.

His Excellency and suite arrived at Perth on the 21st, after a tiresome journey, partly by the river route, partly on horseback, and sometimes on foot over the rough bush road. Here the party stayed a couple of days, walking and riding about the settlement, and showing a deep interest in all that had taken place. Colonel Cockburn, of course, was indispensable, for with an unwearying devotion he, of all others, had ever kept in close and intimate relation with everything that related to these settlements.

The account of the Governor's visit to Perth is taken from the files of the Montreal *Herald* and is sufficient to fix, with a fair degree of accuracy, the date of the Duke's death, a week later, over which many conflicting statements have been written:

“*Perth*, 21st August, 1819.

“Arrived this morning His Grace the Governor-in-chief, accompanied by Major Bowles, Military Secretary,

and Lieut.-Col. Cockburn, Deputy Quarter-Master-General. His Grace and suite were received with every possible mark of respect which was in the power of the inhabitants to evince.

"On the ensuing day His Grace, desirous to witness the progress of this young settlement (and although the weather proved very unfavourable), walked for several miles along the township line between Elmsley and Bathurst, and appeared to be much gratified with the improvements. On his return to the village His Grace was waited on by the respectable inhabitants with the following.

"ADDRESS:

"To His Grace Charles Duke of Richmond, Lennox and Aubigny, Knight of the Most Memorable Order of the Garter, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief in British North America, etc., etc.,

"May it please your Grace:

"We, His Majesty's dutiful and faithful subjects, inhabitants of Perth and its vicinity, beg leave to offer Your Grace our cordial congratulations on your arrival in this infant settlement, sensible of the high and distinguished honour conferred on these Provinces by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent in committing the care of His Majesty's subjects in this part of the Empire to a person of your exalted rank? We look forward with pleasure to the blessings which will result from Your Grace's administration.

"Proud of the honour of receiving a visit from our illustrious Governor-in-Chief, we trust our exertions will meet your approbation. Attached from affection to our revered and beloved Sovereign, we feel grateful to His Majesty's Government for the fostering and paternal care extended to this young and flourishing settlement, and we anticipate, through the wisdom of Your Grace's measures, that this settlement will at some future day be a strong and steady pillar in support of that government which is the pride of Britons, and the envy of the world.

"That Your Grace may accomplish the rest of your journey in health and safety is our most ardent wish."

"List of those who signed the address:

"Wm. Bell	N. B. Thomas	C. H. Sache
J. H. Powell	Alex. McMillan	J. Nickol
Rodk. Matheson	Wm. Pitt.	G. H. Reade
J. H. Cumming	Benj. Delisle	Joseph Adams

Richmond and the Duke

J. Watson	John Ferguson	A. Fraser
B. Winkworth	John Ellis	Capt. T. Consitt, R.N.
J. M. Mason	John Jackson	Alex. Cuppage
Wm. McPherson	Wm. Bailey	Peter McPherson
H. Graham	John Cameron	Alex. Thom
Wellsly Richey	John Murdock	Wm. Richey
Wm. Morris	James Richey	Joseph Taylor
Joseph Richey	John Alston	Thomas Richey
A. A. Leslie	Andrew Caswell	David Bogg
C. O'Neal	Joseph Pelton	Andrew Donaldson
J. Adamson	J. Dawson	P. O'Connor
J. Dibbs	J. H. O'Brian	J. Simpson
Wm. Matheson	J. Millar	Wm. Blair
A. Cameron	Wm. Adams	Wm. Spaulding
Alex. Matheson	Wm. Old	J. McKay
Fras. Allen	Alex. McDonell	M. Gould.'

"To which His Grace was pleased to

"REPLY :

"Perth, August 22nd, 1819.

"GENTLEMEN: I thank you for your loyal and patriotic address. I am most happy to have it in my power, from personal observations, to assure His Royal Highness the Prince Regent that the encouragement afforded by his direction to this settlement has not been misplaced, and I feel confident a continuance in your exertions will speedily place you in a situation to afford a sure support to these Provinces, and by so doing to the mother country, should your services be required.

"On my part I shall ever be most anxious to second your wishes and promote your prosperity by every means in my power.'

"After which his Grace and suite were entertained at dinner by the respectable inhabitants.

"After the cloth was removed, the following toasts were given:

"The King;

"The Prince Regent;

"The Duke of Clarence and The Navy;

"The Duke of York and the Army;

"His Grace the Duke of Richmond—prosperity to his administration and may the motives which have induced His Grace to visit this settlement, be appreciated in the manner so arduous an undertaking merits;

"Sir Peregrine Maitland—may the exertions, so eminently conspicuous in His Excellency's administration in quelling discord and sedition in the Province of Upper Canada, receive universal approbation and meet its due reward;

"Lieut. Col. Cockburn, Deputy Quarter-Master-General, who has evinced so ardent a desire for the welfare of this settlement and whose exertions for its ultimate advancement calls forth our unanimous esteem."¹⁰

Chief among the entertainers of the Duke and his party, was Colonel Powell, who, if not in person, at least through his family, had more than a passing connection with the life not only of the District of Bathurst, but indeed with some of the public life of Upper Canada. James H. Powell was an Irishman by birth and a major of the 103rd Regiment, under the command of Colonel the Honourable G. L. Cole, in the campaign of 1813. Coming to the Perth settlement in 1818, he drew 1,000 acres of land and immediately became one of the best known of the officers' mess whose meetings were held in the early days in "The Red House," the old Adamson Hotel.

On the 25th of June, 1819, after Daverne had absconded, Major Powell, as he was then, and colonel soon afterwards, was appointed secretary and superintendent of the establishment at Perth, and he continued in control until the 25th of December, 1822, when the place passed from the hands of the military authorities over to the civil control of the Province. When Perth became the judicial seat of the District, in 1823, Colonel Powell became the first Sheriff, continuing in office until 1831, when he returned to Ireland and died there. In the post of Sheriff he was succeeded by his eldest son, John A. Powell, who thus became the second Sheriff of the District of Bathurst, and continued to hold office for upwards of twenty years, being succeeded by Andrew Dickson.

Another son, Francis, was appointed in November, 1843, to the post of Clerk of the Peace for the newly-formed District of Dalhousie, at that time separated from the District of Bathurst, and whose capital was Bytown. This appointment, the son of an outstanding Conservative, and a friend of the old Family Compact, was made by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then the Lieu-

tenant-Governor of Upper Canada, without, or indeed against, the advice of the Baldwin-Lafontaine administration, then in political control in the Province, and was one of the last official acts that brought on a crisis in the development of the principle of Responsible Government, to which it had been thought, by the popular Assembly at least, the Canadas had been committed through the Report of Lord Durham five or six years before. The discussions between the Executive and the Governor—the long and famous Parliamentary debate which followed—a country left without a Ministry—all the eventful battle which now had begun—these are some of the immediate consequences of an agitation holding the political field until Responsible Government finally triumphed in 1848. Simple as it may seem, Francis Powell's appointment became the torch that lighted the long-continued fire of political agitation and constitutional struggle.

Colonel Powell and his friends were genial and generous, and wine flowed freely, for, with the exception of Lord Dalhousies' visit in the following year, Perth was seldom in all her history likely to entertain again, or for many long years at least, so very distinguished a visitor. During the evening the Governor complained to Colonel Cockburn that the attempt to take wine disturbed him unusually—something that appeared to him most utterly ridiculous. It was not, however, until the next morning that any unpleasant symptoms began to exhibit themselves. On being awakened, His Grace complained that he felt unwell, that he had slept badly and that he had a pain in his shoulder and throat. He felt alarmed also at the appearance of some trees which were near a window where he slept, and which he insisted were people looking in. Shortly after, when a basin of water was presented to him, he showed evident abhorrence at the sight of it.

On the morning of the 24th, His Grace set out for Richmond, over the miserable bush trail then marking out the way. His irritability, so unusual a characteristic with the Duke, was noticed particularly by the servants, and he displayed a singular aversion to water as the party passed the various small streamlets that crossed the roadway here and there in the woods. The travelling was slow and arduous, and it

seemed not unlikely that one might reasonably agree with a variety of accounts, all telling of the Duke's arrival late in the evening in the vicinity of Sergeant Vaughan's shanty, some three miles distant from Richmond. Here, with darkness coming on and a difficult and dangerous swamp between, the Governor decided to remain for the night. Early next morning inhabitants turned out with planks and saplings and made light causeways over the more impassable places, and in this way, and with a very considerable escort, the Duke entered Richmond. Here the party were provided with comfortable quarters at the inn of Sergeant-Major Hill, whose wife busied herself in preparing breakfast for her unusual and distinguished visitors. Heretofore this house of entertainment had been known as the "Masonic Arms," but ever after bore the name of "The Duke of Richmond Arms." On the evening of the 26th His Excellency gave a dinner to which all the chief men of the place and vicinity were invited. On this occasion, too, the new township of March received its name in honour of the Earl of March, a nephew of the Duke of Richmond; for here, in the summer and fall of 1819, Colonel Lloyd, Captain Laudel, Captain John Benning Monk, Hamnett Pinhey, Captain Street, and others, whose military days were ended, were establishing homes along the Ottawa River, above and opposite the village of Aylmer. At the dinner the Duke appeared nervous, twitching and jumping at the sight of water. Later in the evening Dr. Collis, a half-pay officer and ex-surgeon of the 6th Infantry, and now living at Richmond, tried bleeding and a throat gargle, which appeared to give some relief, but the night was a restless one and in the morning the Duke desired to get on the way as speedily as possible. In arranging the plan of his tour he had calculated the time that he expected to be at Hull. He walked down past Colonel Burke's residence to take a small boat at the foot of the rapids, in which he was to be conveyed to Chapman's—the end of the road—where "Squire Wright," of Hull, had sent out a team and wagon to meet him and convey him to Richmond Landing. On pushing out into the stream, his last night's nervousness returned with increased violence, and by the time they had gone a mile down the Goodwood he became

unmanageable. Jumping ashore, in spite of the occupants of the boat, at the place where later a toll-gate on the Richmond road stood for many years, he ran with the fleetness of a deer through the forest, followed by his attendants, who discovered on their arrival at Chapman's that he had passed the shanty and entered the barn, a short distance back from the river. On going to the barn, he was found in a fit, lying on his face in a hay mow. They removed him to the shanty and immediately sent for Dr. Collis, who shortly afterwards arrived and bled him without effect. Dr. Reade, an ex-army surgeon, was sent for to Perth, but the Duke was dead long before his arrival. His corpse was put in a plain deal box and conveyed to Richmond Landing. On arrival there the batteau which was to meet him was already awaiting him, and he was taken by it down the river and on to Montreal. His death occurred early in the morning of the 28th of August, His Grace expiring in the arms of a faithful Swiss, who never quitted his beloved master for a moment. While in Chapman's shanty, his sufferings were extreme, and in his sane moments he directed Colonel Cockburn to pay no attention to his orders, "for you see the condition I am reduced to." It has also been related that he tried as best he could to leave a written message for Lady Mary, his daughter. During a paroxysm of pain he exclaimed, "For shame, Richmond, shame! Charles Lennox, bear your suffering like a man."

Sad indeed was the home-coming—sadder still for the children, who had been joyfully awaiting his coming at Montreal—saddest of all the blow that must have fallen upon Her Grace of Richmond, at home in England, who was constantly thinking of her distinguished, though distant, lord and looking forward presently to a happy reunion. In this respect there is an unusual melancholy surrounding the last message of Her Grace, when already the Duke of Richmond had passed beyond the bounds of time, although as yet the news had not reached England. Henry Goulbourn was still the Under Secretary for War and the Colonies, and to him the note is addressed:

"The Duchess of Richmond presents her compliments to Mr. Goulbourn. She is quite ashamed to send so many parcels for the Duke, but he was very anxious to get them before the communication is more difficult, which she trusts will plead her excuse, and that Mr. Goulbourn will have the goodness to order them to be forwarded by this mail. If any letters should arrive from Quebec it will confer an additional favour to have them forwarded to her here.

"Waterloo Place, Thursday, September 30th, 1819."¹¹

Early on Monday morning, the 30th of August, Colonel Ready at Montreal had received a despatch from Major Bowles, stating the Duke was suffering a very serious indisposition. Late on the same evening Major Bowles brought the mournful intelligence of His Grace's death, and that the body had been brought as far as Lachine, being taken the next morning to the city and put on board the steamer *Malsham* for Quebec. On hearing first the tidings of the Duke's illness, Lord William Lennox, accompanied by Colonel Ready and Dr. Caldwell, left to join his father. They proceeded by the Ottawa and on reaching St. Andrew's received the distressing news that the body had already gone down by water on its way to Montreal. Colonel Ready, Colonel Cockburn, Commissary General Wood, Major McLeod, Major Bowles, Sir Charles Saxton and Captain Montessor, R.N., accompanied the remains to Quebec. On the 2nd of September all that was mortal of the Duke of Richmond was conveyed to the Chateau of St. Louis, attended by the Honourable Members of the Legislative and Executive Councils, the Chief Justice, the Bishop of Quebec and clergy, and the whole of the officers of the staff, escorted by six field pieces and a guard of honour. His Grace's remains lay in state until the 4th of September, when they were removed to the place of interment in the Cathedral Church at Quebec, in military procession, attended by the principal persons attached to the public, military and civil departments. The Rev. George J. Mountain, Bishop's official in Lower Canada, and rector of Quebec, following the almost invariable custom of the time, on Sunday the 12th of September preached the funeral sermon:

"I speak not of the private loss—I experienced only, with others, the general affability of his manners, and I knew him as a regular attendant and as a communicant in this Church, kneeling by the spot where his insensible remains are now deposited. I might mention also that I never referred in vain to him any case of distress, and that I received from him a tender of committing to my hands the means of charity to a much larger extent than I should have deemed myself warranted in accepting.

"Let us view him as among the great ones of the world; as one whose approach has made expectation rise; whose presence imposed attention and respect; whose smile was wont to diffuse cheerfulness; whose slightest intimation of his slightest wish was answered with a zealous promptitude. View him as the head of an illustrious family—the wearer of so many hereditary titles and superadded honours and appointments, the possessor of palaces, the lord of fair dominions in different kingdoms of the earth, the proprietor of so many costly articles of luxury and display, the arbiter in a manner of so many subordinate fortunes, the patron of so many adherents, the master of so many attendants—'Saying to this man Go, and he goeth, and to another Come, and he cometh.'

"Shift then the scene: Follow him on his visit to the rude commencement of civilization which scarcely breaks the wildness of the woods. View him there, not indeed with a broken spirit nor unattended by some faithful friends, but severed from his family, far away from the seat of his establishment, from the halls of his ancestors—there overtaken by disease, and there surrendering his soul to God, there closing his connection with all that had been his below."¹²

The Lady Mary and the Lady Louisa remained in Montreal, overwhelmed by the catastrophe. In a few days they were joined by Sir Peregrine and Lady Sarah Maitland. Sir Peregrine, under direction from the Home authorities, assumed the duties of the General Administration of the Government. The family of the Duke, in the course of a couple of weeks, sailed for England.

IV

LANARK-ON-THE-CLYDE

ON A BEAUTIFUL morning in the month of October, in the year 1815, a British man-of-war cast anchor at a lonely rock in the South Atlantic. He who for twenty years had been War-lord of Europe, broken in ambition, and doomed to exile, looked out from the ship's deck over the barren island of St. Helena, which the allied and victorious powers had determined eventually for the grave of Napoleon Bonaparte. And what an amazing trail of blood and tears followed in the wake of the Emperor, not alone confined to the days when, in the pomp of his power, nation after nation felt the crushing strength of his armies! But now the days of peace had come, so much less spectacular than the days of war, yet claiming, too, in their own way, the settlement of confusions and problems that the beginning of the nineteenth century was forcing upon the life of Britain, and which were intensely aggravated by the ruthless disturbances of the war.

In our own day the Dutch castle of 'Amerongen shelters in a kind of exile another War-lord of Europe. We ourselves have seen four years of war, followed by a year or two of unusual prosperity at its close, the feverish haste to return again to normal times. But this false prosperity was followed in turn by difficult days, which we have called, in part, the process of deflation. It has been a period marked by scenes of unemployment, of low prices on the farm and high costs in the city, of efforts by traders and manufacturers to rid themselves, with as little loss as possible, of surplus stocks purchased at high prices, of failing revenues for ships and transportation agencies, of falling and changing Governments, a world of disorders, all wallowing in the tempest-tossed sea of affairs, following in the wake of the storm.

One hundred years ago almost exactly similar scenes were opening on every hand. In the British House of Commons, and especially in the session of 1819-1820, long and anxious debates arose over the "Seditious Meetings Prevention Bill." The Solicitor General, on the 2nd of December, 1819, spoke of disaffection in Lancashire, and Cheshire, Northumberland, Cumberland and Durham, "and above all of the state of the Western parts of Scotland, especially in the neighbourhood of Glasgow and Paisley." Lord Archibald Hamilton, representing Lanarkshire in the House, declared that the dissatisfaction prevailing among the people was chargeable to the distress so general and so widespread—"the utter inability of the people to obtain adequate subsistence from any application of their labour."

The Glasgow weavers in particular were most unfortunate, Their wages in 1803, at the highest, were twenty-five shillings a week. By 1816 the rate had fallen to ten shillings, and now, in 1819, to the starvation point of five or five and one-half shillings. This meant, too, that the modest savings of more prosperous days were now exhausted, and people were forced to carry their furniture and clothes by degrees to the pawn-brokers, and even the pawnbrokers, having advanced their whole capital on such pledges, were in nearly the same distress. Idleness was followed by threats of famine; misery and want were all around prevailing.

The situation was the direct outcome of the war. The Lord Advocate of Scotland dwelt upon the peculiar plight of the weavers. They performed their work at their own houses. As wages fell they tried to maintain their revenues by working, like Wordsworth's Michael, "far into the night." This caused a surplus production. It was also to be remembered that, when troops were raised in Scotland during the war, there being a scarcity of employment for operative manufacturers, the greater part of the recruits had been drawn from Glasgow and other manufacturing towns. When these were discharged, on the return of peace, they had resumed their former occupations. Thus the number of weavers had been greatly increased, while at the same time the demand for manufactured goods had decreased.

Moreover, during the war, Britain commanded a monopoly of the world's commerce and greatly extended her manufactures. Workmen got high wages, manufacturers received high prices, but, when peace was restored, England met again world competition, and especially the competition of countries where labour was much cheaper. Prices fell, wages fell, and presently unemployment was rife. Speaking from his place in the House on the 16th December, 1819, Mr. Marryatt, the Member for Sandwich, said:

"I can assure those gentlemen (who think British skill and capital will carry all before them) that they underrate the exertions of our rivals, as I can show them by referring to the trade of Havanna which, being open to all the world, is as fair a criterion as can be furnished. From the returns of the vessels that arrived at that port for the six months ending in July last, it appears that out of 99 coming from Europe, only 15 sailed from Great Britain, 18 from France and 21 from Holland, and the Hans Towns. This enumeration shows that six parts out of every seven of the wants of the inhabitants of the island of Cuba can be supplied cheaper from other parts of Europe than from Great Britain."¹

On the 21st of December Lord Archibald Hamilton presented a petition from fourteen parishes in the Presbytery of Hamilton, in Lanarkshire, showing that labourers' wages could not sustain their families and that many could not attend churches for want of clothes. On the 1st of June, 1820, John Maxwell, the member for Renfrewshire, offered a petition from the mechanics of Paisley, asking aid to emigrate, preferably to Canada, for, "it was dreadful to see 400 persons in every square mile without the means of subsistence."²

Moreover, on all hands there was rapidly growing up an unusual discontent, to be attributed almost solely to the consequences of the war. Old faiths were challenged, old customs were cast aside, old establishments were questioned. For the next twenty years or more, the whole political movement of the time followed and was concerned with the cries of the Radical Reformers—Universal Suffrage, Annual Parliaments, Election by Ballot, aggravated and convulsed by such unhappy incidents as the massacre of Peterloo.

The British Government eventually decided that some steps must be taken. Accordingly, on the 6th of May, 1820, Lord Bathurst continuing still to be as he had been in 1815, Secretary for War and the Colonies, addressed a letter to Sir Peregrine Maitland, then and for some six years more the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. As this despatch sums up the results of the Government's deliberations and definitely outlines a plan of action, it deserves quotation in full:

"An application has been addressed to His Majesty's Government on behalf of certain individuals who have associated for the purpose of removing to Upper Canada as settlers, a portion of the labouring population of the County of Lanark.

"The substance of their proposition is that they should receive an advance of money from the Government to be repaid by them within two years from the date of the advance. Having submitted this proposal to His Majesty, I have now the honour of forwarding to you the arrangement which has received his sanction, and under which I entertain little doubt that a body of settlers, to the extent of 1,200 (including women and children), will shortly proceed to Quebec.

"You will observe from the memorandum enclosed that means of transport from Quebec to the place of settlement are to be provided by Government.

"You will therefore take such preliminary measures as may be necessary to prevent the detention of these persons for any time after their arrival at Quebec, their early arrival at the actual place of settlement being most essential, both with a view to their own comfort, and the object of Government in affording them assistance.

"As the disposition which exists among these persons to emigrate to Canada has arisen in a great degree from the favourable accounts which they have received from persons already settled on the Rideau and Tay, from whom they expect to receive some assistance in making their first establishment, it will be extremely desirable that they should be located as near as circumstances permit to the settlements already formed in that neighbourhood.

"Every preparation that can be made for their receiving the land allotted to them without delay will necessarily contribute to the success of the enterprize, without increasing

the expense which the Government here has consented to incur, and I have, therefore, given you this early intimation of the arrangement in order that you may, on the arrival of the parties, be in a state to give immediate effect to it.

"I shall not fail, as soon as I receive an account of the precise numbers and names of the parties who propose availing themselves of the arrangement held out in the memorandum, to communicate it to you for your further direction.

"The Government are ready to assign to the settlers, on their arrival in Upper Canada, land at the rate of a hundred acres for every family under the usual conditions of residence and partial cultivation within a limited period; on failure of a compliance with which, the land will as in all other cases be resumable by the Crown.

"The expense of surveying the land, amounting to fifteen shillings per hundred acres, will be defrayed by the Government. It is proposed that the emigrants should themselves arrange the means and defray the expense of their conveyance to Quebec, and that the charge of their removal from Quebec to the place of actual settlement should be borne by Government, or that the Government should provide the means of transport for the emigrants and their baggage. That, on their arrival at the place of settlement, the leaders of the several parties should receive an advance of money, not exceeding £3 per head for every emigrant.

"That another advance of £3 per head should be made to them at the expiration of three months after the date of their arrival, and a further advance of £2 at the end of six months after the date of their arrival. It will be requisite for each party to nominate two or three persons with whom alone all communications of Government will be carried on, and to whom the several advances may be made under the conditions proposed in the memorandum delivered in by the parties themselves. Seed corn and implements of husbandry will be supplied to the emigrant at prime cost."³

Already, in the month of April, 1820, many individuals and families, especially in the counties of Lanark and Renfrew, had formed societies for the purpose of urging the British Government to action. It was in consequence of their petitions that Lord Bathurst's letter was written. And week by week the representatives from these counties were appealing

in Parliament for relief through some form of state-aided emigration. The policy of the military settlements had for a year or two been abandoned in the efforts towards retrenchment and economy that the difficult post-war days so urgently called for. In the summer of 1819 the Magistrates of Glasgow had endeavoured to offer relief by the employment of a great number of people on public improvements. As a direct result, what is now the famous Glasgow Green, one of the finest parks in the United Kingdom, remains as a monument of this endeavour. But such efforts were distinctly local and decidedly temporary, and daily the National problem became ever more grave.

The societies, formed in aid of the scheme, were soon prepared to offer the full number of emigrants called for in Lord Bathurst's despatch. A subscription, by way of aid, was raised in Glasgow and the Barony Parish. Each individual received £1, which was paid to the owners of the vessels as part of their passage money, after the agent had examined the customs house entry list.

References to a few of the society arrangements will here suffice to indicate the course of the preparations. John Graham had the direction of twelve families, with a total of thirty-nine persons, under the auspices of The Glasgow Emigration Society; William Gordon had in charge nine families of forty persons from The Abercrombie Friendly Emigration Society; William Grainger took care of thirty-nine families of The Anderston Rutherglen Society; William Walker led one hundred and fourteen souls, coming from the Bridgetown Transatlantic; Thomas Scott, for the Lesmahagow, was given the largest group, totalling about one hundred and seventy, and John McLachlan for three societies—Transatlantic Bridgetown, Abercrombie, and Winslow—with a "class-leader" for each, undertook the management of one hundred and thirty-nine men, women and children. And of course there were many others.

With a despatch unknown in 1815, when John Campbell's colonists embarked for their final destination on the Rideau, the settlers in the spring of 1820 were promptly furnished with ships, and nearly the full quota of 1,200 emigrants set sail

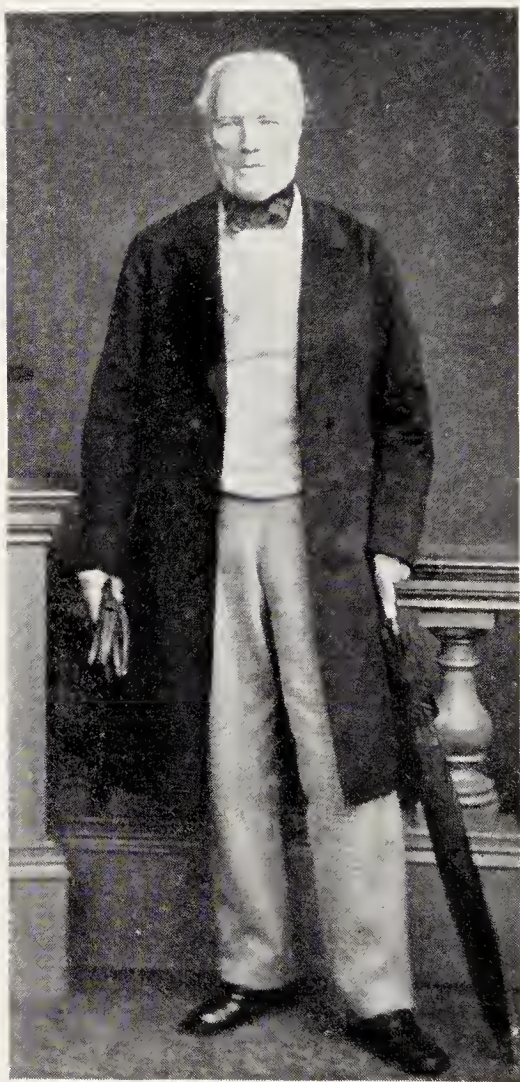
early in the month of June, on board *The Commerce* and *The Prompt*. Soon after £500 was raised in London to take out as many families from the remaining members of the societies as were otherwise unable to go, and were selected by ballot. One hundred and forty-nine individuals of these could raise only one-tenth of the expense, and an agreement was entered into for those persons with the owners of the ship *Broke*, for one hundred full passengers at £3, 10s. each ton and a half of the ship's register. Provisions were laid in and shipped in bulk. This gave them the right to provisions on hand at Quebec, so that they were able to pay off a debt of £52 to the owners, secured by the twenty-six heads of families for £2 each, to be paid out of any provisions that might be on hand at the end of the voyage.

A report coming down across the years from the *Glasgow Chronicle* of the 13th July, 1820, gives to our day a living and familiar reference to the embarkation:

"We are informed by a correspondent that the ship *Broke* sailed for the east Quay, Greenock, on Saturday morning, at 8 o'clock, with about 176 passengers. The greater part of them belonged to The Abercrombie, Transatlantic and Bridgton Societies (members of their families who had been allotted out of the said societies), and being all poor they were unable to pay for their own transportation, not having raised more money among them than about £1. 10s. of the expense. The fund which enabled them to proceed was raised in London, with a little assistance here. Sabbath morning being fine, and the wind fair, the ship lay to for a short time until the passengers were all got on board and mustered on the deck. Our correspondent left them in high spirits a short way below the clough, after having expressed their gratification to all who had befriended them. Amongst the last remarks he heard while they were watching the boiling pots was that they had sailed quicker than they had expected, and had not time to get breakfast; but the beef was good and nearly ready, and that they had seen little of that kind of food for some time past."

Writing from Quebec on the 27th of October, Lord Dalhousie,⁴ the Governor-General of Canada, made his brief report to Earl Bathurst.





COL. WM. MARSHALL
Superintendent Lanark Settlement

"On receipt of your lordship's communication of the arrival of the 1,200 settlers from Lanarkshire in Scotland, I took immediate steps to carry your lordship's instructions into effect. I have placed them as the military settlers under the control of the Quarter-Master-General's Department. I allotted to them a new Township called Lanark, and as it had been previously surveyed and lotted, the people were conducted to their lots without any delay whatever.

"I feel justified in saying that the plan upon which these people are sent out is good, although at first it may cause a considerable expense. I have no doubt that they will repay the money in a few years, and as the idle will be at once refused the instalment due, the lot of land will amply repay what had been advanced to them.

"This plan is advantageous in another way, that all the moneys advanced to them must be spent in the purchase of food, the surplus produce in this Military Settlement for which there was no market in reach, and will thus doubly benefit that part of the country."⁵

In the meantime, and in expectation of the coming of this new and special group of colonists, the military and civil authorities in Canada were already perfecting their plans to receive the settlers. Reuben Sherwood and his assistants had also been busy and were prosecuting the surveys of the townships of North and South Sherbrooke, Dalhousie, Lanark, Ramsay and Huntley. The experience of the depot at Perth had taught the wisdom of an early and more thoroughly equipped Government store and settling depot, and the new townships were accordingly to have as centre a place some twelve miles north from Perth. The traditionary story is that, when the emigrant settlers came in from Brockville past Perth and on to the river Clyde in the south-west corner of the township of Lanark, over an almost impassable road, crossing the Mississippi on scows, and finally drew up at the hill overlooking the site of the village then and now, a sign, hung upon a tree in the forest, greeted their expectant view—simple and direct as it was: "*This is Lanark.*" Here, by the 25th of August, Colonel William Marshall, who had gained much experience in the older depot at Perth, had been designated as secretary and superintendent of the new establishment

at Lanark-on-the-Clyde, and with the erection by this date of a Government store he was ready to receive the settlers. With him were associated James Shaw, as clerk, at a salary of five shillings per day, and John A. Murdock as issuer and storekeeper, at "three and six."

Money advances were freely and liberally provided for. During August and September the following sums were requisitioned and paid:

- £1,000 for advances to R. Sherwood for surveys;
- 600 for advances to emigrants under Bathurst's instructions;
- 1,500 for the same;
- 200 for the secretary and storekeeper, to help carry on;
- 40 to be expended in improving the communication between the village of Perth and the new depot "to be called the Lanark Settlement."⁶

The Earl of Dalhousie had already, even before he came into the office of Governor-General, some considerable acquaintance with the Canadas. It will be remembered that in 1819 he visited the chief points of interest around Lake Ontario, going as far as Niagara Falls. In the earlier part of 1820 he succeeded Richmond as Governor-General, the administration in the meantime having been carried on by Sir Peregrine Maitland, who still continued as Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada. Like the Duke of Richmond, the new Governor lost no time in the endeavour to become better acquainted with his new domain, and in the month of August paid his first visit to the military settlements. Writing in September to his old friend, Judge Stewart, of Halifax, the Governor refers to his long delayed promise of writing to acquaint the judge of "my hopes and prospects in this wide field." And then he continues:

"I have also made a three weeks' excursion of the Ottawa. I thence passed through the military settlements of Richmond and Perth, admirably placed and ably conducted in a manner similar to ours at Annapolis under Major Smith, but on much finer land and on much better allowances from Government. You may judge of the scale on which we are operating these



HON. JAMES SHAW
Secretary of Lanark Settlement, Later One of the
First Senators of the Dominion



by the June Packet. Lord Bathurst communicated that 1,200 people from Lanarkshire would arrive at Quebec in July, under agreement to be placed on land at the expense of the Government, and that without delay. In a week after I had received that letter, 600 of them did arrive. They were forwarded to Montreal and Brockville at once. I gave them a new township ten miles square, and called it Lanark, close adjoining the Perth settlement. They reached it at the same time I did, and in two days after I saw the first of them, with a Captain Marshall as Superintendent, and a surveyor attached to him, set forward into the woods to occupy their lots. Several townships had been surveyed last year in preparation for settlers, and every man is obliged to sit down on the lot assigned to him. I never saw people in more joyous spirit, or more elated in their prospect. Government advances to each living soul £10 at different and successive periods in fifteen months, which money is to be repaid in ten years. This is not a Radical Cargo, but an emigrant Society that has been trying at this for several years in and about Glasgow. It is an expensive job to Government, but it will do much good in more ways than one.”⁷

Colonel Marshall, kindly, obliging, sympathetic and diligent, made every effort to get his new colony into some kind of order for the approaching winter. A glimpse can only be given here of the actual work of settling down upon the locations which the Lanark depot was endeavouring, with all despatch, to place at the settlers’ disposal. Two letters sent from the settlement to relatives at home will give, in a direct and living form, some idea of the movements and life of the establishment that, in the late autumn of 1820, was making its home in the forest wilderness, centring around Lanark-on-the-Clyde.

FROM WILLIAM MILLER TO HIS FATHER:

“*Perth*, 3rd October, 1820.

“I have got my land and money and everything as was said. My farm is twenty miles from this town and five miles from Lanark township. It is in the township of Dalhousie, No. 14, in the 2nd Concession. I am just going off on Monday to build my house. It is a nice lot of ground. I have got ten acres of meadow hay on it. If I had been here two months

sooner I would have had a cow this winter. If I have time I will cut some hay yet and get a cow, but this I cannot say till I get my house. £2 a head is just what we paid from Quebec to Perth Government settlements. In this town there are six or eight large stores where you can get anything, as you or I could in Glasgow, but cast metal is very dear and crockery-ware. It is only four years since Perth was a wilderness of wood. There are four churches in it. The distance from Quebec to my farm is 409 miles. I intend to keep my family in Perth till I have my house up and provisions for them. The winter beef is 3d a pound, pork 5d; butter, 15; tea, .45 per pound sugar, 9d.; tobacco, 15.30 a lb.; rum, 15 a bottle. When you write me, direct to William Miller, farmer, No. 14, 2nd concession of Dalhousie, by Lanark. I have called my farm Whitelee, but it will not be known by that for some time. My friends need not come here, but for farming. No tradesman is wanted mostly at all.

"We came from Quebec to Montreal in a steamboat, and land carriage from that to Lachine, and from that in boats to Prescott, and from that to Perth in waggons and such horses for running I never saw in my life. I got my wife, family and baggage on a waggon and I thought when they started that the men were mad for they went off like a shot out of a gun and up hill and down dale was all alike. They were most of them farmers, and I told the man that was with me, that if we were to run our horses that way we would kill them, but he said no fear of them. They are the most mettlesome creatures I ever saw. I can tell you, and you may tell all you know, that my wife bakes loaves as good as the best risped loaves in Glasgow. I thought that I would miss the oatmeal greatly, but I do not. If you come get into some society—a great saving. A pot which you will get for 4s. will cost £2 here, and a kettle costing you 6s. costs £2 here. Pots and pans be sure to fetch, and a grindstone. A set of tea dishes which you will get for 3s. will cost £1 here. A 4s. 6d. dollar is 5s. here, and one of your shillings is 13d., and your farthing is ½d. and a pennypiece the same. Everything you have if it be the shape of a copper, goes for ½d. I have gotten £2 this day, and I got as much this day three months and as much in three months after that, and I get farming utensils of every description that I need. Thanks be to God for being so fortunate as I am. I got information this day from Captain

Marshall how I will get you out free of expenses, and if I get this for you I think I shall be happy. This I write, if I get it for you, how you are to do.”⁸

FROM ALEX WATT TO HIS FRIEND IN QUEBEC, WHO REMITTED
IT TO A PERSON IN GLASGOW

“*Perth*, 10th October, 1820.

“We got orders to go out to the township of Dalhousie last week, to choose lots for ourselves. All our society were settled in the course of a few days. There are twenty of us settled in the first line or road between the second and third concession. I am on the 25th lot, east side of the 2nd concession of Dalhousie, one and a-half miles from Clyde, which runs through our township and joins the Mississippi at the township of New Lanark. I am seven miles from New Lanark and seventeen from New Perth. I am well pleased with my land. It is nearly covered with sugar maple. I suppose I have 4,000 sugar trees and a great deal of beech and ash, and a few cedars. I saw twenty fir. I have a small swamp for grass and a fine beaver meadow. I could keep a cow on it. It is, I think, six acres all with a fine long grass. Those people who intended to be neighbours are three miles from each other. I have got very good neighbours and I have long wished to have you beside me. There are three lots on the north side of mine not yet taken up; but to tell you the truth I do not know what kind of ground they are, for I have not seen them, but the ground beside which I saw are very good. These lots are on the 1st, 2nd and 3rd concession. I would not advise you to come up here this season. The year is far advanced and no roads cut yet, and owing to such a number of emigrants coming, everything is two prices. Flour is \$7 a bbl. potatoes 2s. 6d. a bush; beef 6d. a lb.; but they say that victuals of every description will be almost for nothing after we have got our difficulties over.

“We are all going out to-morrow to cut roads and build our houses. The families are to stop here in Perth for some time. I have gotten £1. The married man, \$2. This is our first payment. We have gotten rations from Government since we came from Quebec up to the 16th October. We have gotten a good blanket apiece; we are to get cooking utensils, implements of husbandry and assistance of every kind over and above our money. Mr. Marshall, who has the superintendence of the settlers (the same gentleman that I went to

see in Glasgow), tells me that three townships are to be laid out for settlers next year, and although I refused the lot that fell to me, being a swamp, and was obliged to take an outside, yet will I be in the midst of settlers next year. Expenses from Quebec to this place, as near as I can judge: From Quebec to Montreal, \$2; from Montreal to Lachine by land, 5s. to 8s. the waggon load; from Lachine to Brockville, by the Durham boats, \$2 a hd. and \$1 for every cwt.; from Brockville to Perth, 38 miles, \$11 for every waggon. From Perth to the settlement, I cannot tell as we got everything from Government. There are three or four children dead since we left Montreal, in the flux and chincough, but I was never in better health in my days."

And so proceeded from day to day the routine work of settlement on the locations. Sleeping in the bush, on brush under blankets, or in rude sheltering wigwams in the forest, the men worked hard in preparation for the rapidly coming winter. Some of the families remained in Perth until spring, and others lodged here and there, throughout the older settlement, with friends or relatives, until the log shanties and houses could be raised to receive them.

In the village of New Lanark, James Hall, Peter McLaren, Captain Matthew Leech and William Gordon were among the first to establish homes, and a number were ready for occupation by December. The first lesson was how to wield the rude and imperfect Government axe. And here the record goes to show that these implements of British design and manufacture had to be discarded for the more effective tool of American manufacture and design. Indeed, many hundreds of the Government supply had eventually to be returned to the military stores, as altogether unsuited to the work of the settler.

And soon the little village on the Clyde began to settle into a permanent form of life. There is in preservation an old minute book of the Presbyterian congregation at Lanark, which tells, in its own way, something of the early story:

"This day (18 December, 1820) a general meeting of the people professing the Presbyterian religion took place in the house of Mr. James Hall, to consult and devise the best means to erect a schoolhouse that might also answer the purpose of a place of worship until the settlement shall be able to

provide themselves in both, when the after-mentioned persons were elected as office bearers for the ensuing six months: Mr. James Hall, President; Messrs. Robt James and James Thomson, Managers; Mr. Blackwood, Clerk."

"And at a later meeting, held on the 19th of January, 1821, in the house of Alex. Ferguson, it was found that a number of people had assembled who proceeded to the ground allotted for the purpose and cut logs sufficient to raise the schoolhouse."

It was reported by the President that Captain (or Colonel) William Marshall, superintending the settlement, had allotted for burying ground two acres; for a church, one acre; for a schoolhouse, one acre; for the accommodation of a minister, one acre; and for a schoolmaster, one acre—"In all six acres on behalf of people professing the Presbyterian religion."

The village site included some twenty farm lots in the south-westerly corner of Lanark township, subdivided into town and park lots, the latter containing, as in Perth, twenty-five acres each. Lots of ten acres each were also reserved for mechanics.

Near the close of December Colonel Marshall, writing to the Committee in Glasgow, is able to show a very remarkable development, especially in Lanark village, and particularly in view of the fact that it had been only about three months since the first of the colony had reached the depot there.

"There are already three respectable merchants' stores and a dozen houses in the village. Permit me to suggest the necessity of sending out people of this description earlier in the season. They ought to be here in July. They ought not to be under necessity of expending any part of their instalment money in clothing. They require all of it till they can raise something for themselves."¹⁰

Among the first houses was that of Alexander Ferguson, and, early in the following year, he completed a small gristmill on a Government-granted site, receiving for his enterprise in aid of the new settlement a free grant of 200 acres of land.

By May, 1821, the Lanark Presbyterian congregation are addressing the Rev. William Bell, at Perth, asking him to "administer ordinances in this place." And the request was granted for the 24th of June, when, far and near throughout the country, it was announced that Mr. Bell would preach,

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

and the strains of Dundee and Old Hundred would resound in this backwoods settlement in the old familiar way. Mr. Bell celebrated in solemn form the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, and constituted the congregation, but he was careful to inform the people that he baptized no children but those whose parents were in communion with the Church and that he required of all parents, "particularly those who apply, whether they observe the worship of God in their family."

On the 22nd of May, 1821, Colonel Cockburn reviewed, for the information of Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, the results of the special emigration of 1820:

"The range of townships to the north-west are those which were laid out in consequence of the arrival of the Lanarkshire settlers last year, and the total number of persons already located therein, including men, women and children, amount to from 1,500 to 2,000. Of these upwards of 800 are from Lanarkshire, 700 are emigrants, who, having means to bring land into cultivation, have received no assistance from Government, except a small supply of implements in addition to their 100 acres of land, and the remainder, amounting to about 130, are military settlers, who, having been discharged from regiments of this command, have received one year's rations at the public expense, for themselves and families, in addition to their land and implements."¹¹

It may not be amiss here to offer a brief statistical statement of the emigration of 1820, typical as it is of all the various settlements in these years. The summary is dated at Lanark, April 12th, 1821. It shows also that most of those who embarked in the venture remained to the end and found their homes in the Lanark establishment:

<i>Emigrant settlers</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Children</i>
Glasgow emigration	11	7	19
Bridgton-Transatlantic.....	22	20	66
Abercrombie Friendly Em.....	8	7	22
Bridgton Canadians.....	32	25	92
Muslin St.....	9	7	28
Abercrombie St.....	8	6	31
Transatlantic Society.....	9	9	35
Lesmahagow Emigration.....	34	28	128
Anderston Rutherglen.....	34	25	111
	167	134	532

Lanark-on-the-Clyde

Implements for general use of the concessions.

40	grindstones
40	whipsaws
40	cross-cut saws
120	files of sorts
167	augers, falling axes, hand axes, pickaxes, hammers, kettles, frying-pans, bills, iron wedges, latches and catches, locks and keys, pitchforks, saw sets, handsaws, spades,
85	adzes
569	blankets—one for each man and each woman, and one for every two children.
334	files, gimlets, pails, hemp
1,503	harrow leets;
2,805	pounds nails.

Return of expense of Settlement

Advances in three instalments of £3, £3, £2	£6,474	10	0
Provisions on the way to the settlement.....	376	8	7½
Transport to settlement.....	1,662	8	5¾
Survey.....	2,281	1	11
Incidentals.....	259	8	5
Fees on 167 grants.....	244	18	8
	£11,298	16	1¼

But while in Canada, even amid many hardships and privations, new hopes and new fortunes were already forming in the wildwood, banishing the terrors of want and distress so vividly remembered, conditions in the homeland were showing no signs of improvement. Public and private aid was being dispensed and the Emigrant Societies were daily adding to their lists of members. A meeting in Glasgow, at the Black Bull Inn, on the 24th of October, 1820, attended, among others, by Colonel Mure, of Caldwell, Lord Archibald Hamilton and Kirkman Findlay, M.P., it was reported that the Government would give aid again in the following spring to 1,800 emigrants, on terms similar to those granted in the previous year. There were already 6,281 applications. A very full report of the conditions of shipping of food supplies, and equipment to be provided for persons intending to sail, was set forth at the meeting. Each emigrant must have by law on board, in unbroken quantity, on the day of sailing:

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"18 lbs. Irish mess beef, 42 lbs. biscuits, 132 lbs. oatmeal, 6 lbs. butter, 3 lbs. molasses."

The estimate was based on eighty-four days' passage to Quebec, and families might have to spend a few days in Greenock before sailing. During the winter, and in readiness for a voyage in the spring of 1821, girls should be taught to knit coarse woollen stockings and to spin wool and linen yarn suitable for family purposes. Boys should be taught to make fishing nets and tackle for lakes and rivers. And in true old-fashioned form, the report runs on:

"If fact, to succeed well those parents who have been brought up in the country should call to mind the days of old, the precepts and examples so beautifully exemplified in Scotia's cottages, when the daily worship of God might have been heard in every family."¹³

From month to month meetings of the General Committee were held. The situation was reviewed, many anxious inquiries were answered, and by the middle of March arrangements were completed with Q. & J. Leitch, of Greenock, for the supply of vessels, their equipment and provisioning and all the needed details for early sailings. These details were, indeed, very complete and offered for the intending emigrants a degree of comfort-unknown to the general emigrant ship of that day—good water and in plenty, with a definite rule for its daily supply to be measured out in small casks; fuel and cooking furnaces with pots and equipment satisfactory; accommodation for women who might be overtaken in childbirth, and especially that adult unmarried females might have a measure of seclusion behind canvas or temporary partitions; a surgeon and medicines on each ship; provision for public worship on board, and care to be taken that emigrants should be free from all claims by the owners or the masters of the vessels.

As Lord Hamilton had reported in the autumn before, the British Government were, of course, endorsing this continued emigration. On the 17th of March, Bathurst again wrote the Canadian Governor that encouragement was afforded "to a further portion of the labouring population of Scotland."

"The number of persons during the present season is limited to 2,000 souls, who will be ready to proceed to Canada early in the ensuing month. As these persons are to be settled in Upper Canada, it would not have been necessary to have made any communication to your lordship with respect to their settlement, had it not been for the circumstance of its being desirable to follow the course adopted with respect to the Scotch emigrants last year, and to unite them to the military settlements on the land, which, although under the civil jurisdiction of the Upper Province, has been for the purpose of location placed at the disposal of the Commander of the Forces."¹⁴

By the middle of April emigrants were ready to embark, and in the next four weeks 1,883 emigrants sailed from Greenock for Quebec, and the shipping records give of the voyages the following information:¹⁵

<i>Name of ship.</i>	<i>Individuals.</i>	<i>Date of sailing.</i>	<i>Date of Arrival.</i>	<i>Births.</i>	<i>Deaths.</i>
<i>George Canning</i>	490	14th Apr.	1st June	3	5
<i>Earl of Buckinghamshire</i>	607	29th Apr.	1st June	6	
<i>Commerce</i>	422	11th May	20th June	0	3
<i>David of London</i>	364	19th May	25th June	4	3

John McDonald sailed on the ship *David of London*. Having kept a diary, he is able to take the reader of to-day over the ocean voyage and the up-country journey, through the backwoods trail, in to the settlement—a fairly living picture of some of the conditions which on the threshold of their new home loomed up before this Scots' colony of 1821:¹⁶

"We left the quay on the 19th of May, 1821. A steam-boat dragged the ship to the tail of the bank and, the wind being favourable, we immediately sailed.

"Soon fierce storms came—nine days of it, many sick, four births during our passage, but three died; another fell from the deck into the hold and broke his arm.

"We arrived in Quebec on the 25th June—slept that night on board, left next night in a tremendous storm of thunder, and lightning, the most dreadful I ever saw or heard. Arrived in Montreal twenty-four hours later, after uncommon heavy rain, drenching our clothes and spoiling our meal and bread.

"Carried luggage from steamboat to abundant waggons provided by Government, on which were loaded women and

children and all who were unable to walk, and so on to Lachine, ten miles above Montreal. Here we arrived June 28th, and waited four days for boats.

"Here a very difficult part of our journey commenced, namely, the passing of the rapids of the St. Lawrence. Some of these have a very strong current, and as the stream is very shallow and stony the boats sometimes grounded. Then all the men who were able were necessitated to jump in up to the middle of their bodies and sometimes deeper. At these rapids the women and children were obliged to come out and walk and in several places the rapids ran with such force that we were compelled to get two horses to haul every boat.

"We were obliged to continue night and day in wet clothes. Sometimes we got access to farmhouses, and sometimes not. Some got into barns, but the most part of them lodged out in the fields for five nights—120 miles from Lachine to Prescott. In the morning my nightcap, blankets and mat were so soaked with dew that they might have been wrung.

"At Prescott we began to feel the effects of our rough journey. Many were afflicted with the bloody flux. Some took fevers and many died of a few days' illness. Here we were three weeks. The great numbers caused delay. Two families were left orphans—one by the name of Dick with nine or ten children, whose father was drowned while bathing at Lachine.

"Left Prescott 30th July, at nine o'clock, and travelled six miles that night and stopped at an inn. Here we took in our clothes and slept all night on the floor—got up next morning at break of day and arrived at Brockville, nine miles, and breakfasted there. We went no farther up the river, but struck back through the country.

"The next night we stopped at a farmhouse, when we slept in a barn amongst new hay in which we felt some reptiles and were afraid of snakes, having seen many on the road. The road became worse, and towards night it became so rough that the horse was unfit to proceed. Another driver came and we advanced four miles on the road, under cloud of night, staying at this driver's house where we slept on the floor. Next day we had a new driver, attentive and careful. But this was not the case with many waggons, which were overturned with men, women and children—one boy was killed on the spot. Several were very much hurt. One man got his

arm broken. Our own waggoner, in spite of all his care and skill, was baffled, his horse having laired in a miry pit of the road where he stuck fast. And even after he was loosed from the yoke the poor animal strove so much to no purpose that he fell down in a state of complete exhaustion three times in the mire.

"The mire was so tenacious, being a tough clay, that we were compelled to desengage his feet from the clay by hand-spikes. Still he struggled to get out our waggon, but in vain. A team of oxen came forward and fastened to our waggon, which was at length pulled out and then we got on. Soon after this a great quantity of rain fell, and we were glad to get away to the first farmhouse.

"Next morning the road appeared so bad that it put us to a complete stand. The only alternative left was to pull up the farmers' fences, and thus got through, and closed them up again. Every now and then we were compelled to cut down the fences. It was wholly a region of woods except some places occupied by farmhouses and spots cleared here and there in the most of this immense forest.

"But as we approached New Perth the road gradually improved and the driver desired some of us to go up into the waggon and get a ride, which I accordingly did, being much fatigued. But as I was standing in the waggon, the horses advanced a step and I fell out of the vehicle on my back and broke one of my ribs by lighting on a small stone. By this accident I was very much bruised but it was a great mercy that I was not killed on the spot, the road being stony. In such a pitious plight I arrived at Perth, and immediately applied to a surgeon for medical aid, who advised me to bathe the injured part with vinegar and bind it close and hard, which I did, and I slept all night in a stable, the only convenience we could procure for that purpose.

"We left Perth next morning, which is fourteen miles from New Lanark, and came to a large stream called the Little Mississippi, over which we had to ferry. I then saw a tent, the people of which told us that the reason why they were stopping there was the superior salubrity of the situation, it being freer air. Having advanced within two miles of New Lanark on the fourth day of August, we were informed that the settlers were getting a great deal worse and that no less than four of a family were sick at the same time. The reason is clear. The people live in the midst of a stagnant

atmosphere, never rarified by the solar rays, continually inhaling a corrupted air. Fevers and agues are the immediate result.

"Reader, pause a little whilst reading this tale of woe, and consider for a moment the deplorable state of your unhappy, unthinking and deluded countrymen, thus exposed for eight weeks to the noisome exhalations of immense woods, the excessive and rapid variations of a Canadian climate and the excessive humidity of an American atmosphere, without any shelter from the inclemency of the sky, the heavy and unwholesome dews and the rains and the winds (to which latter there is nothing of a nature parallel in this country), but such as a few posts driven into the ground and then wrapped together with the frail branches of the trees could give—wretched habitations indeed! When the branches wither they are almost completely open at the sides. Some who are able cover them with blankets, or whatever else they can obtain on the roof; others have them covered round about. This will not, however, prevent reptiles, such as snakes and lizards, from getting in. I saw a snake myself sucking a frog nigh my tent; but we killed it and when it got a stroke in the head it shot out its poisonous fangs. We saw numbers of squirrels running about our beds, and we were frequently deprived of sleep for the unwholesome intrusion of oxen and cows, which, straying from their owners, came close to our tents and we were much terrified lest they should have pulled our tabernacles about our ears. The swine would come to our very heads and take away anything they could find, running away with it in their mouths, so that we were obliged to pursue them in order to recover it.

"Many of those who arrived first got the best lots, as they had the first choice, and, if not pleased with it when viewed, Colonel Marshall still indulged them with more tickets for other lots till they were satisfied. They are all furnished with tickets for such townships as they choose to settle in, namely, Lanark, Dalhousie, Sherbrooke, and Ramsay. Those who came first tried very naturally to obtain the most eligible situations. On this account inferior or worse lots are left to those who follow. In the first place, they have to go out more frequently to view the lots, which is attended with a great deal of hard toil and much expense. The ground is measured out into lots of 100 acres each; in every township the ground is divided into concessions or grants, and each

concession is again subdivided into a proportionate number of lots. A post is fixed in the ground to mark the limit or boundary of each concession, both in front and rear. For this reason most of those who go to view their lots take a guide with them and two or three go together, which diminishes the expense to each individually, because they have to pay their guide five or six shillings each day that they are employed for the above purpose, which commonly occupies three days when they go on a tour of this nature. Each emigrant generally gets two lots to view, and if three set out together, there are 600 acres to be inspected. I thought this would have almost finished me, and even stout young men were so completely worn out with the toil, that they could scarcely get home, and were afterwards confined to bed and fevered from the great fatigue and exhaustion of bodily strength occasioned by excessive perspiration during the intense heats of the day, and from sleeping all night in the woods exposed to the cold and heavy dews. One of our companions, a young man, leaving a wife and family, died after such an excursion.

"In addition to these difficulties, we had to encounter another—mosquitoes—whenever they sting it pierced through the skin. I have had my legs pierced all over with the fangs of these tormenting and mischevius insects, and from the effects of their bites they seemed as if they had been covered all over with the small pox. As a great deal, if not the greater part, of the land is bad, the time and expense is proportionately great. Many have not gotten lots to please them, and bad land is generally rocky and swampy, and in some of these swamps the trees have fallen across each other and in endeavouring to step across we fell into the mud. But these swampy parts, if drained, would prove excellent land. Still, however, the soil is generally light and sandy. I cannot but also pity such of my unfortunate countrymen who came hither in search of a transatlantic paradise, destitute of clothes and money, because there are five or six months annually of severe frost and snow."

The settlers are beset with fears over the coming Canadian winter, and rightly so, for their disadvantages are marked and many:

"They are far from a market to sell their produce, the nearest being Kingston or Brockville, both sixty miles distant by the shortest road. There is a scarcity of draught animals

such as horses and oxen, being high in price and the inability to purchase. A third inconvenience is the scarcity of corn mills and the great distance to which he has to send his grain to be grinded. There is one at New Perth, the nearest at present, and fourteen miles from New Lanark, and double that distance from any new settlements. There are other mills erecting at New Lanark and Dalhousie, but still those will be far distant from many a settler. There are good mill seats on many of the farms, and those who have the means will be induced to erect them for their own advantage and that of others."

McDonald then goes on to describe some scenes and customs that appear novel to the eyes of an old-countryman. Maple sugar and the method of its production from the trees; the use of substitutes for tea made from herbs and shrubs in the woods—velvet tea, sarspareil, maidenhair, the inner bark of the maple and certain evergreens; fruit of a variety, and raspberries, plums, gooseberries, fish in abundance, and those who are dwelling near the Mississippi may have all they want; fowls—but he hasn't seen many except a few pigeons; a dearth of songbirds, so different from "at home"—the silent woods.

"No sound of music is ever heard there, but a melancholy death-like stillness reigns through the forests, except when they are agitated by the tempest or the storm."

And he concludes this part of his review with the rather forbidding and cheerless conclusion that "the settlers here have a mean appearance, very poor in their food, their dress, and their dwellings." But McDonald failed to remember that the settlers had a new-found freedom. They were already beginning to experience a new-found sense of proprietorship which, with all the labour and sacrifice in the world, Scotland could never have given them.

Then follows a very full description of how the settlers' shanties are built of logs, with moss-covered chinks to keep out the wind and cold, and covered with slabs and scoops; how the clearings are ploughed and planted for potatoes and various vegetables, but with little interest in gardens. The flowers are still those of the forest, which abound in various

and beautiful colours. And still, after the lapse of one hundred years, in some of the swamps within a mile or two of Lanark village, are yet to be found forest gardens of orchids that in colour and variety offer to the delighted visitor a wealth of distinctive beauty that, like the prairie flowers, rival the constellations.

Food is dear—a barrel of flour at New Lanark costs \$7. Pork is 6d., beef 5d., a pound, and mutton the same. Eggs, 1s. a dozen; a hen, 15d., a horse, from £7 to £10 sterling. And to get food to the farthest farms, the settlers must carry it on their backs through the rough trails of the forest; but in winter they are “enabled to transport them on sledges which run with great velocity over the snow.”

There are many who as yet have not got any land. Many, too, are lying sick and

“Have few cordials to support them, but they want one great cordial, a cordial that few seem to relish or desire. And that is the Gospel. Few care for the Gospel here. But there are, however, many who have come here who know both its power and consolation. I hope their Christian brethern will feel it to be their duty to send them a minister. It is certainly desirable to have a pious neighbour remind them of the weekly return of the Sabbath, for some have forgot its recurrence, for they come in with their waggons full and transact all their business on the Lord’s day.”

And, as if to escape any charge of not conveying to the people at home a full and wholly satisfying account of the general conditions of life, and of the various things that might be of interest to his countrymen, McDonald’s diary closes with a note of cheer, undimmed by any shadow of a Canada or of an Ontario Temperance Act.

“Every kind of liquor is cheap. At Montreal rum brings 3s. 6d. to 5s. per gallon. Hollands of the very best quality, 6s. per gallon. Some, made in the United States, 10½d. and 1s. a bottle, and port wine, 2s. 3d. to 2s. 6. per bottle.”

A Scotman’s church and school ever remain the foundation stones of his communal life. And here at Lanark, as already indicated, these institutions found their beginnings in the late

autumn of 1820. Now that the settlement was so greatly augmented by the emigration of 1821, the course of establishments followed a more permanent intention.

The old minute book offers the brief, but convincing, story:

"Lanark, 28th June, 1821.

"Met the Committee in the house of Captain Leech—were present Capt. M. Leech (President) Messrs. Alex Furguson, James Hall, James Lindsay, Peter McLaren, and William Gordon. The Committee, having taken into their consideration the necessity of raising the schoolroom as expeditiously as possible, appointed Monday, the 14th of July, for that purpose, and instructed the Clerk to prepare notices to that effect. Appointed to meet again on said day."

"Lanark, 14th July, 1821.

"A quorum of the Managers not being present after raising the schoolhouse, the meeting was adjourned to the 11th September."

The old Lanark School, and the vagaries of the dominie who presided so long and so vigorously over its destinies, must be told elsewhere; and here the story takes us to a brief account of the early Lanark Church.

As already seen, the first sacrament of the Lord's Supper was dispensed in Lanark by the Rev. William Bell, of Perth, on the fourth Sabbath of June, 1821. As yet there was no church, nor was the schoolhouse raised. In September of the same year the Church Committee addressed to the Rev. Mr. Easton, of Montreal, a letter reminding him that, in June of the year before, the emigrants from the ship *Commerce* presented to him a petition on the Quay at Greenock, praying for a minister to be sent to the settlement. Mr. Easton was informed that the promises of Government were now fulfilled, and that sites for a church and school were already granted and that "a house is now in a state of forwardness to answer the double purpose of church and schoolroom." A reminder is further given that, before the settlers of 1821 had left Scotland, the public prints contained notices of grants to be provided for a minister and a school-teacher, and the sincere hope is expressed that they may be instructed "minutely how to act to obtain the object of our most earnest wishes." There is no

intention here of writing the history of the Church at Lanark, but some references to the early efforts of the people to have a church throws an illuminating side-light on the poverty of these years.

By March, 1822, the schoolmaster had arrived and entered on his duties, and it was agreed by the church managers that unless they had some answer to their request for a minister, they would apply directly to Earl Bathurst and the Joint Committee in Edinburgh. Their efforts proved successful and the Rev. Dr. Gemmill, an associate member of the Synod of Scotland, came to Lanark as the first resident minister of the Presbyterian faith, and indeed the first clergyman of any denomination. He conducted his first service in Lanark on the second Sunday of August, 1822.

On the 22nd of October Lord Dalhousie was informed that £280 had been collected for the building of a church at New Lanark, and "lodged in the British Lines Company's Branch at Glasgow, there to remain at £3 per cent. interest until your lordship draws upon them for the same."

By March of the next year the money was sent to Canada, and, upon the request of Colonel Marshall for information as to what the congregation should require, their answer was that it should hold 500 people. Accordingly the work of construction, but not on quite so ambitious a scale, went forward, and presently the first church was erected on the site of the church of to-day—a stone building 26 by 36 feet, with eight windows, a gallery across the end, and with accommodation for 300 people.

In this connection, an interesting side-light is thrown upon the building of this old church over a controversy arising on its rebuilding nearly forty years later, and after the laying of the corner-stone of the second church in August, 1860. Robert Drysdale, who had done the carpentry of the church of 1823, and who also lived to help design and build the second church, of which the corner-stone was laid August 17th, 1860, in the course of a newspaper argument with his minister, offers an informing note, for they were disputing about the plans of reconstruction:

"In the erection of this same old church I had a plan presented to me by the respected old pioneer, Colonel Marshall. That plan I had to follow. In the next place the funds were limited and I lost heavily by the transaction. In the third place, the material was bad and I had to take what I was ordered to take. And in the fourth place, so far as the wood was concerned, it was sawn in the midst of the forest, in a rude saw-pit, where even not a pound of flour could be got for the workmen. I may say, indeed, that their only food for a considerable time consisted of hard boiled eggs and rum. These same sawyers, however, were good men and more than one of them are yet to the fore, to tell that the old church was very well built under the circumstances, and that it stood for thirty-seven years."¹⁷

Notwithstanding the zeal of these Lanark pioneers for their faith and for their church, their revenues were meagre indeed, and the maintenance of a minister was quite beyond their ability. So late, indeed, as the middle of 1824, they were forced to inform Dr. Gemmill

"how things stood, and also to let him know that if he thought proper to continue to preach for another year he was welcome, and that they would try what could be done by way of subscription to remunerate him for it. But if he was not satisfied with this it was agreed that he should just stop, as they could do no more for him."

The Rev. Dr. Gemmill continued in the combined character of physician and minister until 1828, when he decided to withdraw from the congregation.

How rigidly also religious views were held in this distant time is characteristically exemplified in the record of a meeting of the Church Committee in November, 1823.

"Information was laid before the Committee that the Methodists had applied to Colonel Marshall for liberty to preach in the church on the Sabbath, when Dr. Gemmill was absent, but that he had submitted this to the Committee to decide, which, after some consideration, was decided by vote, there being seven votes against it, and two for it."

In a limited sketch only occasional glimpses can, after all, be given of the various phases of the pioneer life of these

people, and all their hopes and fears. The earliest medical attendances, for example, were afforded from the old settlement. George Hume Reade came to Perth on the 5th of January, 1819. In the Peninsula, Holland, the Netherlands, and at Waterloo, he had seen service, having lost his father at Corunna and his brother at Victoria. He came to the settlement as a half-pay officer—formerly a surgeon and apothecary to the forces. His troubles at Perth are another story. When the Scots settlers came to Lanark, Colonel Marshall requested, on their behalf, his professional care, exemplified by the setting of limbs, broken by falling trees, and the treatment of fevers and other ills common to the bush life of the time, and unrewarded as well, both for medicines and services, as he pointed out when writing later, in 1833:

“My professional services were afforded at a period when the Lanark settlement was first established. No roads were made, and no shelter from the weather, but what you could procure from the shade of the woods. I have on many occasions travelled twelve and fifteen miles to perform a professional duty. I have been about five and six days at a time, and never received remuneration of any kind. I received the grant of land I was entitled to as a half-pay officer, but nothing further.”¹⁸

Life in the clearings was well begun. Scotsmen by birth, weavers, many of them, by occupation, filled with the ambition of at last owning homes of their own, even in a lot circumscribed by many limitations, the Lanark settlement continued to justify, in considerable measure, Lord Dalhousie's enthusiastic expectations. Some statements made by the settlers themselves are convincing:¹⁹

PETER MUNRO TO JOHN McLACHLAN

“*Dalhousie*, 6th May, 1824.

“If it had been so ordered that you had come here when I came, you would, by being industrious, have had plenty to eat of the best flour, Indian corn and potatoes, and to drink of the best milk, maple sap, molasses and honey. Last harvest I had in 140 bushels of potatoes, besides grain of all sorts. We had difficulties, but now they are almost over. Last January I lost one of my large oxen, yet Providence has always been

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kind to me. The first two calves I had were oxen. They are now three years old and able to do most of my work. I have got a large house built, 20 feet by 30, and a barn, 20 feet by 40."

FROM ANDREW ANGUS TO HIS PARENTS

"Lanark Township, Lot 24,

"Con. 10, April 18, 1825.

"This place has been settled little more than three years, and some that left Scotland with nothing have now from twelve to eighteen head of cattle, besides sheep and hogs. This township grows a great deal of Indian corn. I planted five quarts, the produce of which was fifty bushels. From seven bushels of potatoes I had 240. To give you some idea of how this township has come on: We have an annual meeting when we choose our office bearers. I was appointed assessor. I had to go to every house to take an account of clear land, number of inhabitants and cattle. There are 1,560 people, 95 oxen about four years old, 180 under four and above two years, 338 milk cows, and more than 1,000 under two years. The taxes, which all go for schools and bridges, are trifling—3d. for every milk cow, 4d. for every ox above four years old, and 1d. for every acre of cleared land."

FROM JAMES DOBBIE TO HIS FATHER AND FRIENDS

"Lanark, U. C., 24th April, 1826.

"I and my family are still taking well with this country, and I really do bless God every day I rise that He was ever pleased, in the course of His Providence, to send me and my family to this place. My stock of cattle consists of one yoke of oxen, three milk cows, and three young ones. I have got up a very handsome new house, with the assistance of fifteen young men. It was raised in one day. It is twenty-four feet in length and fifteen in breadth."

A visitor to the military settlements, describing his experiences in a Montreal newspaper in February, 1827, offered some interesting and informing descriptions, as well of Lanark as of the localities more remote from the village. The cheer and prosperity that met this visitor's view are of a community quite past the toils of settlement, and now some six or seven years of age. After describing Perth and some of the farms in its neighbourhood, he proceeds:²⁰

"It was between four and five in the afternoon when I got back to Perth, and without halting, along with my companion, I set out for the village of Lanark. The road for two or three miles is pretty clear, but it got to be dark just when we got into the woods. The road from Perth to Lanark, such as it is, was made at the expense of £200, which was paid out of the military chest. Near the two towns the road is of some width, but the greater part of the way is only broad enough for a waggon or a sleigh, and that, too, by making several pretty sharp turns round trees or stumps. Our movements were necessarily very slow. When we got to any cleared land and houses one of us needed to leave the vehicle and wade over the knees in snow in order to enquire the way. From answers given we discovered that the people are nearly all Scots."

And even eighteen years later, this road, which to-day is paved like a city street, drew a rather unfriendly reference from the famous Dr. Norman McLeod, the distinguished Scots divine, on a September day in 1845, returning to Perth after a Sunday in the pulpit of the church at Lanark: "The roads were fearful. My hands were sore holding on by the waggon."

The Montreal report continues:

"About $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Lanark we crossed the Mississippi by a wooden bridge lately erected. The Mississippi seems at this part fully as broad as the Clyde at Glasgow Green, and this bridge, which is as long, is much wider and stouter than the wooden one at the foot of the Saltmarket.

"It was about eight o'clock in the evening when we arrived at Lanark, the Inn at which I found was kept by an old Lanark man, who is also a cooper. From him I learned that several of the people that I was most anxious to see lived at the farther extremity of the township, distant about thirteen miles. To this place I determined to bend my course next."

This traveller decided to set out the next morning at daybreak for the back settlement, but at once observed that he could not find his way and had to procure a guide. He informs us of the difficulty of going through in the bush and that it is done by following the marks on the trees—"travelling by the blaze." People are frequently lost, but the blazed trees take them to someone's dwelling, and they are in the habit of

freely spending the night in one another's houses. Indeed, on the road between Perth and Lanark, when snow is on the ground, the "blaze" is the only guide a stranger can have.

"Lanark is laid out in the same manner as Perth. It has not, however, nearly so much the appearance of a town; but seems rather a pretty thickly settled farming district. The river Clyde, which seems about the size of the Tay, runs through it in much the same manner as that river runs through Perth. In its passage through the town it drives a mill which is used for the grinding of all sorts of grain. On stepping into this place I was saluted by name by the miller, who comes from New Lanark in Scotland, and who had heard of my arrival. He informed me that he was the first person who had brought a European woman into the township of Lanark. I went with him into his house, where the children were at breakfast on the 'halesome parritch, Chief o' Scotia's food.' He and his family seemed comfortable and happy. It was in this house, however, that I met the first, I believe I may add the only discontented person I saw in my journey. It was a woman, who seeing a stranger enter the miller's, followed, I suppose to hear the news. When I alluded to the deplorable condition of the tradespeople in Britain and stated how fortunate they all ought to think themselves that their lot had been cast under circumstances so much more favourable, she interrupted me crying 'Dinna say that; dinna pretend to tell me that this is better than hame. I wad sooner soof the causey in Scotland than stay here.' I was rather astounded by this tirade and at a loss what answer to make, when an Irishman present, addressing the murmurer, said: 'By my faith, mistress, I don' know what you would be at and, savin' your presence, I'm not very sure if you know yerself. By all accounts the people at home can't get meat to eat, and you don't seem to have been at any loss in that respect.' The woman, against whom these remarks had rather raised a laugh, acknowledged that there was no scarcity of food, but contended that it was impossible to get clothes like those that could be had at home, 'to look decent in.' To this the Irishman, with more candour than gallantry, replied that, so far as he understood, the people at home were as hard up for clothes as for meat, and as to her he thought her clothes were as decent as herself.

"On returning to the inn, a gentleman came up to me—Mr. Shaw—who had the superintendence of the settlement in the absence of Col. Marshall. He welcomed my companion



and me to the village with the utmost cordiality. Hearing of our projected visit to the back part of the township, he took us to his office, when he displayed a plan of the township on which were written the names of the proprietors of every lot, and from which we saw that the place must be pretty thickly settled. He also invited us to spend the evening with him on our return. I may conclude my description of the village of Lanark by mentioning that there is a handsome little Presbyterian Church with a neat spire, all built of stone, which is the only place of worship in the township—in which, however, there are four whiskey distilleries.

“It was between nine and ten on Friday that we set out for the habitation of R. A. K. in the north-eastern extremity of the township of Lanark, near whom several other of Lanark’s emigrants were settled. After several narrow escapes from being upset, breaking several articles which we repaired by ropes, we reached the habitation of R. A. K.”

This appears to be Robert Affleck, who, in the official return, with a family of nine, is entered for the front half of lot number twenty, in the ninth concession of Lanark.

“It would be impossible to describe the warmth of the reception, for he was welcoming one with whom he had long been on terms of friendship. In this house I determined to stay all night. Word was successfully sent round to the other Lanark families in the neighbourhood, and in little more than an hour four families of them were assembled under one roof. The visit was unexpected. Dinner was just over when we arrived, and when I mention the fare set before us it is to be considered a sample of pot luck or their usual diet. There was excellent fresh pork, broiled beef, and bacon, ham and potatoes; also wheaten loaves, shortbread, pumpkin pies (cold), all of their own baking.

“R. A. K., in whose house I now was, had been a weaver in Lanark from his boyhood till the end of June, 1820, when with a wife and, I believe, eight children, he set out with several other families from the same place to the township of the same name in Upper Canada. The eldest of his family when he left Scotland was not more than fifteen or sixteen. In spite of the most persevering industry, exerted to an extent far beyond his strength, he found the utmost difficulty to fill the mouths of a numerous and fortunately healthy family, and

to give them that moral and religious education which both his reason and prejudices as a Scotsman told him was indispensable. I speak from personal knowledge when I say that in his laudable desire to accomplish these ends, the midnight hour often struck before he left the loom on which he had been toiling from an early hour. In such circumstances and animated by such principles, the opportunity of getting out to Upper Canada in 1820 was by him eagerly embraced. He saw in it a prospect of his independence, or at least of a situation where his industry would be rewarded more adequately.

"The township of Lanark when he and other settlers reached it was an entire forest, without a single token of a human being ever having visited it, save at the extremities, where the concession lines had been marked out by the surveyors. The open air was their only resting place, and their only protection from the dews of the night were the fires they lit on either side of them. Their provisions had to be brought from Perth, distant twenty-six miles. Cattle to transport food they had none, and even if they had there was no road through which they could pass. To get as much provisions as a man could carry, it was necessary to travel fifty miles, and the half of the way with the burden on his back, along a road only traced out by the marks on trees. At length a log house was raised."

Here the narrative runs into the usual description of the early backwood shanties, raised out of trunks of moderately sized trees, sometimes left round, sometimes cut into square logs, and laid solidly together, covered with boxwood or basswood scoops, with enough slant in the flat roof to run off the rain and in the winter to retain the snowfall which shuts out the wind. The old-fashioned fireplace is built altogether of stone, and the chinks between the logs filled with clay or moss. And following this "they proceed to clear their land, sowing and cropping it as fast as they can." The narrative proceeds:

"Before the evening closed in, there were about thirty people, old and young, assembled round the fire in the log house of R. A. K. With one or two exceptions they were all from Lanark in Scotland, where the greater part of them had followed the useful, but ill paid, trade of weaving. The enquiries respecting their relations and friends were anxious and affectionate. The distressed condition of their old fellow-tradesmen excited the utmost sympathy. Many of them

remarked that often when they rose from a meal the fragments of which were greater than their former whole, they could not help wishing that they had the power to bestow some of their superfluity upon their starving countrymen. 'Often,' said one of the females to me, 'when I am feeding the dogs and cats wi' meat that I hae seen the day we wad hae been blythe to hae had for oorsel's, the tears are like to rin owre my cheeks for the puir starvin' folk at hame.'

"Among all the people present I did not hear one express the slightest regret that he had left Scotland or a desire to return permanently; but there was no forgetfulness or indifference to their native land. One great object of congratulations was no rent or taxes to pay. 'We never hear of Twin Day an can sleep as soun' in May as in ony month o' the year.'

"It is generally understood that the settlers in Upper Canada find considerable difficulty in procuring clothes, which cost much higher than at home. In consequence of this I took particular notice of the way in which they were in general dressed. Of those whom we saw at R. A. K's who did not belong to the family, I will say nothing. They were told they were to meet with somebody from the old country, and it might therefore be supposed that they had arrayed themselves better than ordinary. This, however, could not be said of R. A. K. himself and his family, who, when we arrived, expected no visitors. Their dress may, therefore, be considered a fair sample of their everyday wear. The clothes of the males were all made of Gallashiels cloth (for, as some of them remarked, they always like Scottish things when they can get them), which would cost in Glasgow about 6s. a yard narrow. Their garments were all whole and very few of them had been mended. They resembled those still worn by very comfortable farmers in Scotland, and which at no distant date were the usual covering of all below the higher ranks. The females had gowns and frocks of cotton print. All these clothes can be had in Brockville, Perth, or even in Lanark, in exchange for grain. Every person I saw was not so well clothed as the members of this family; yet upon the whole the settlers generally are as well put on as tradesmen at home in better times than the present, and in every other respect they are incomparably more comfortable. When it became dark, a couple of mould candles were placed upon the table. They were of their own making, and burned quite as well as those which you could buy in Glasgow.

“The people assembled on this occasion had each a year’s provisions in their houses and barns, with something over, and every year their stock is increasing. R. A. K. has now got nearly fifty acres of land cleared. He has a yoke of oxen, three cows, two or three calves and several pigs. He has no sheep. There are very few of these in the township, but it is the intention of several of the settlers to set speedily about the rearing of these useful animals, after which they expect to make the greater part of their own clothes. Mr. A. has a potash kettle of his own, for which he paid in ashes, and while on the road, I passed two barrels from his house on the way to Brockville, for which he would get about £10. They also make their own soap. It was white, but softer than that sold in Glasgow.”

It may be of more than passing interest to observe that one of the little boys of Robert Affleck—Robert also by name—eleven years of age when he came with his father to the backwoods of Lanark township, wooed and won a daughter of another 1820 settler, Mary Borrowman, born herself in Glasgow four years after her husband. This girl became, in later years, the loved and respected ancestor of a numerous family of grandchildren and great-grandchildren, carrying even into the present century the experiences, the trials, and the triumphs of Lanark’s pioneers, passing over into the silent majority at her farm near Middleville on the 8th day of August, 1916, at the advanced age of nearly 103 years.

“Next morning, after breakfast, my companion and I set out on our return to Lanark. Our first intention was to proceed from this part of Lanark township to Dalhousie, where the greater part of the emigrants from the parish of Lesmahagow are settled. In consequence, however, of a gristmill on the way having been idle all the winter from the frost, there was no sleigh road traced through the wood; we were, therefore, obliged to return to Lanark. From the damaged shape of our sleigh, our progress was but slow, and it was the afternoon before we reached that village. Having got our vehicle repaired, we wished to set out to a schoolhouse in Dalhousie, about eight miles distant, but the person who promised to guide us there made his appearance so drunk, that, unwilling to encounter the woods in the dark in such guidance, we turned

our horses' heads towards Perth, which we reached the same evening. Next morning we started for Montreal, which city we reached in the evening of the fourth day from our leaving Perth, travelling every day, save the last, upwards of fifty miles.

"With regard to the particular mention I have made of certain families in this letter, I may state that I have done so for two reasons: First because I knew something of their condition before they emigrated and, Second, because it is objected by some that it is preposterous to place weavers and other tradesmen in the woods to become farmers—an objection to which the details I have given of the state of R. A. K. and G. R."—(from another sketch of a settler near Perth)—"form a sufficient answer. Let it not be forgot, however, that the present comfortable situation of the settlers is the fruit of long and incessant toil, and let none who are unwilling to perform the same come to Canada. If they do they will certainly be disappointed, and may blame the country for their own fault. If, however, they are willing to undergo two or three years of hardship, with a pretty solid prospect of future comfort, let them come; there is plenty of room."

So soon as the settlements arising out of the emigration of 1820 and 1821 appeared to be fairly established, and when in the clearings considerable evidences of progress were forthcoming, demands were made by the British Government for the repayment of the sums advanced to the settlers at the time of sailing and in the immediate months after their arrival. It will be remembered that Lord Dalhousie had repeatedly expressed his confidence in the repayment of advances within a few years. In December, 1825, however, he found himself writing to Earl Bathurst, enclosing a petition from the settlers in the townships of Ramsay, Lanark, Dalhousie and North Sherbrooke, to which were attached over 300 signatures, asking that the claim be remitted. They are sensible of the many favours bestowed by His Majesty's Government; that when they left home they thought they were on the way to a competence; that though they have experienced "crosses, losses and disappointments," a competence may yet reward their sufferings and exertions.

"Your Petitioners, however, cannot hide from your lordship that much yet remains to be done and many barriers surmounted before they can attain to the object they have in view. Being situated in a back corner of the Province, the land in general of an inferior quality, and the distance to market great, and the roads in a great measure impassable for more than six months in the year, much of their labour goes for almost nothing, whilst what is had in return can only be purchased at an exorbitant price; and although every exertion on their part is made, still it is nearly impossible to turn any of the produce of their labour into money."²¹

Time after time this petition is repeated in various and varying forms. Meetings of the inhabitants are held year after year, but still the burden hangs over the heads of the settlers. Vain does it seem to represent to Government that scores have given up and gone away, unable to wring from the rocky soil of these townships the meagre living that even the most frugal and industrious enjoy, and it would be unfair to insist on payment from those who remain. Later there ensues a correspondence that discloses an effort by the Government of Britain to persuade the Government of Upper Canada to assume the debt, since the settlement was for the benefit of the Province; but to no avail. And for ten long years and over the controversy in some form or another agitated the settlement. At length, in the summer of 1835, Sir John Colborne, then the Governor of Upper Canada, reported that having commissioned Colonel MacMillan, now the Superintendent at Lanark, to collect from the settlers there the sums due to the British Government, and who, meeting with great opposition and being unable to make any satisfactory report, the decision was reached of making a full investigation into the whole situation, and Mr. C. Rankin, "an intelligent surveyor," was specially authorized to visit the district and report in full.

Rankin's report is illuminating, and is worthy of being here repeated as it was written. It is contained in a despatch from Sir John Colborne²² to Spring Rice,²³ dated the 3rd of January, 1835:

"The Bathurst District in Upper Canada is, taken altogether, a very inferior tract of country. There is, however, a vein of good land consisting of the townships of Fitzroy,

eastern part of Ramsay, Drummond, and part of Bathurst, crossing it from north to south. The country to the eastward of this vein, comprising the townships of Beckwith, Huntley, Goulbourn, Nepean, etc., is generally level and consists for the most part of either a cold clay land (in many places swampy) or flat lime rock, with but a thin covering of soil. To the westward of the vein, including the western part of Ramsay, Lanark, Dalhousie, the northern part of Bathurst, Sherbrooke, Lavant, etc., is little else than a continued succession of rocky knolls or ridges with scraps of good land between.

"The townships in which the Lanark Society settlers, as they are termed, were placed are Ramsay, Lanark, Dalhousie, and North Sherbrooke. There appears to have been located to them in these townships 370 lots of 100 acres each—about fifty of these lots in the eastern part of Ramsay are good and worth being settled. The remaining lands occupied by these people, viz., west of Ramsay, Lanark, Dalhousie and North Sherbrooke, should never have been attempted to be settled. They are most perfectly (with the exception of about half a dozen lots in Lanark and as many more in Dalhousie and Sherbrooke,) of the description above given, viz., a continuous succession of rocky knolls with scraps or bits, seldom exceeding an acre in extent, of good land between.

"The above being the case, it appears a matter of surprise how the people have managed to obtain a livelihood here. The statement of their case is this: Having been brought by the agent for forming the settlement to a point in the township of Lanark aforesaid, and having on their way from Quebec to that point encountered difficulties, etc., always attendant upon an enterprise of the kind (to emigrants similarly circumstanced), and being detained at the said point for several weeks—encamped in the midst of a wilderness, far in the interior of a strange country with little or no means to help themselves (except the Government money), fatigued and beginning to be indisposed, they were glad to fix upon any spot which they could look upon as a home, being also principally weavers and having spent their lives thus far only within the limits of the Scottish towns—it is not to be supposed they could be judges of land, particularly when in a state of nature and covered with forest, and it may also be remarked that from the peculiar character of this part of the country (a great part of the Midland and Newcastle district is similar), a person even a good while residing in America and accustomed to

passing through its forests (though without a scrutinizing eye), would be liable to be deceived; and judging, as is the common way in some other, and particularly in the western parts of this Province, where there is neither rock nor stone, by the description of timber produced, would pronounce this good; and so indeed the soil, when it can be got at, for the rocks and large boulders, is good.

"The timber is generally hardwood, viz., maple, beech, elm, etc., and has hitherto, by being converted into potash, proved the principal source of support to the settlers. In pursuing this business they have in many instances made large clearings, which are now of little or no use to them. The people as would be expected from the foregoing statement, are barely managing to live. They are universally industrious, temperate, and moral, and appear faithfully attached to the British Government. The young men, as they grow up, gradually emigrate to different parts of the Province in search of something better than their own neighbourhood affords them, and in many instances the older people follow their children. This would be almost universally done, if they had the means to remove.

"In regard to the second point in which information is desired, viz., as to the existence of other settlers to whom loans have been made, there does not appear to be any other in this part of the country. There are a good many settlers (at present principally in the township of Huntley) brought out in 1823 by Mr. Robinson (at present the Hon. the Crown Commissioner), to whom assistance was rendered in the way of rations, etc., but no loan of money.

"In regard to the third particular referred to, viz., what proportion of the settlers have remained on their lands and what proportion abandoned them, as also of the latter and how many remain in the Province and how many have left the country, it appears by Colonel Marshall's Return of 1829, that there were 569 families or heads of families located. Of these 569 he at that time returned twenty-five as having left the settlement. Since that time, or rather (as some of the instances appear to have existed prior to that date) in addition to the twenty-five so returned, the settlement has lost by death and removal 166 heads (the families in some instances remaining, as follows, viz.: by death, 73; 51 have removed to different parts of the Province, and 42 left the country."²⁴

This report seems eventually to have moved the British Government to generous action, and early in 1836 a declaration of the remission of the claims was sent across the sea. The sums advanced as loans amounted in all to about £22,000. The conclusions toward a forgiveness of the debts were based on the idea that enforcement would be ineffectual, and would only result in the immediate migration of many to the United States, so depriving the Province of

"a class of persons who, though hitherto unsuccessful as agriculturists, are represented to be universally industrious, temperate and moral, and faithfully attached to the British Government."²⁵

Joy reigned in Lanark when the decision eventually reached this distant community. A public meeting was called for a day early in June, as reported in the issue of the *Perth Courier* of June the 24th, 1836. Thanks and cheers closed the meeting, which declared itself as fully appreciating, "the boon conferred by the present Government in relinquishing all claims to the advances made at the time of the settlement," and the Committee was instructed to express the "lively gratitude" of the settlers to the Right Honourable Lord Glenelg, the Secretary for the Colonies, and to the other members of His Majesty's Government, to be transmitted through His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor.

The days that belong more directly to the work of settlement were drawing to a close, and Lanark-on-the-Clyde was already growing into a consciousness of the development elsewhere possessing the Province of Ontario. Apart and inland as is her situation, and never enjoying the advantage of a railway, enterprise and industry, through the middle years at least, were strongly in evidence among her people.

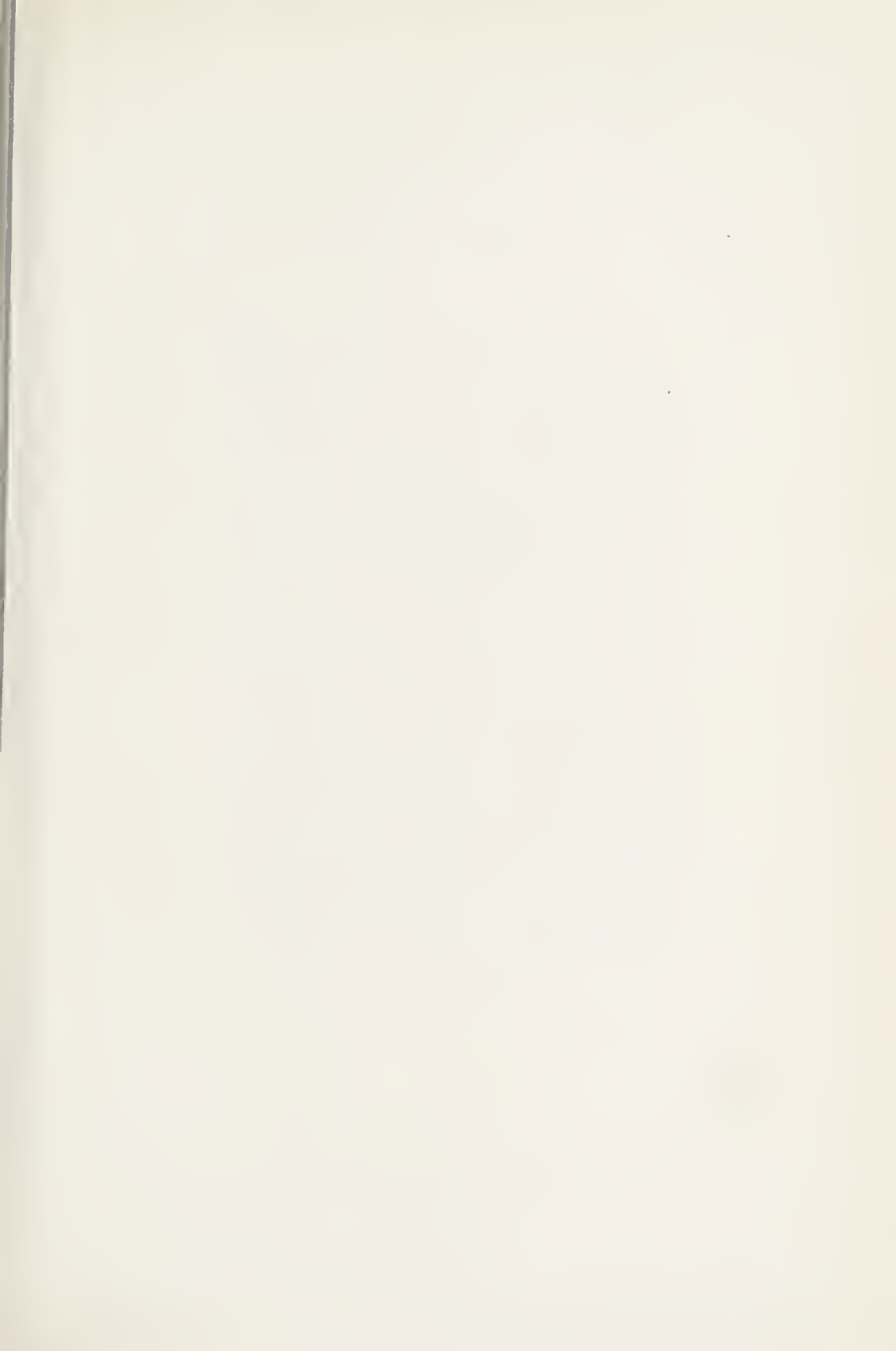
The lumbering days gave rise to numerous mills along the Clyde, and even in many places on the smaller tributary streams with which the country abounds, and a flourishing business was carried on. But the passing of the industry, aided by fires and commercial failures, has left, for the most part and with very few exceptions, only memories which in turn are themselves rapidly fading as the older generation passes away.

Industrial life, which began with the founding of the woollen mill of Boyd, Caldwell & Company, in 1850, ceased when half a century later this factory also fell before the flames, and the business found its re-establishment at Perth. The history of the Caldwell family, so bound up, as it was, with the life of Lanark, demands a special recognition elsewhere given. In the middle years also, the thriving foundry of A. G. Dobbie & Son, satisfying the local demand for stoves and the smaller agricultural implements, succeeded by the Clyde Foundry, under Watt Brothers, was blotted out for ever with the advent of larger concerns elsewhere that now hold this industrial field.

In August, 1850, when in this very month also Lanark might have celebrated the thirtieth anniversary of her founding, J. R. Gemmill, a son of the first Presbyterian minister in the village, commenced the publication of the *Lanark Observer*. For two years the presses ran in Lanark and for two years more at Perth, when Mr. Gemmill removed to Sarnia and founded the *Lambton Observer*, which survives to our own day. Once again, in 1895, John Sutherland, now resident in Toronto, a native of Lanark township, and a descendant of one of the pioneers of 1821, established the *Lanark Era*, which continues still to carry its weekly message to the farms of Darling and beyond the Highland Line.

Lanark-on-the-Clyde has lived through many vicissitudes, and notwithstanding the really difficult days of its inception, the descendants of the faithful settlers have, through diligence and saving, often reached a comfort and a competence surpassing that of many other localities, where easier living made easier spending, leading to waste and failure.

Lanark has ever offered in her people an intellectual quality, continuing since the days of the old Scots settlers, and an attachment to the religious faith of their fathers as the many churches scattered here and there through all these communities so fully attest. But the conditions of life were never wholly ideal; for it cannot be forgotten that in the days when strong drink was available the cross-roads tavern was frequently a blot upon the country-side, and the busy hotels in the village swept into the coffers of the publican too much of the hard-





J. R. GEMMILL
Proprietor Lanark's First Newspaper, 1850-1852



JOHN SUTHERLAND
Proprietor Lanark's Second Newspaper,
1895-1897



Lanark-on-the-Clyde

earned "siller" from too many of the harder drinkers of the time. But they were Scotch or Irish, and there were centuries of tradition behind the custom.

Political feeling was always strong and, when election day came round, the people of these townships, especially in the earlier years, marched to the polls in almost solid phalanx, recording unwavering votes for the old Reform candidates or the Liberal standard bearers of a later time.

Lanark-on-the-Clyde continues to-day its quiet, but picturesque, life on the banks of that winding stream, hurrying along to-day, as in the distant past, to add its waters to those of the Mississippi and swell the flood of the Five Rivers ever flowing on to mingle with the "surges" of the Ottawa.

V

THE BALLYGHIHLINS

SHEPPARD'S FALLS—Shipman's Falls—Shipman's Mills—Waterford—Ramsayville—Victoriaville—these have been the successive names in earlier days of a very picturesque hamlet on the banks of the Mississippi River, in the township of Ramsay. For upwards of sixty years and over, Almonte has been its modern designation, and, through the activity of its woollen manufacturing, chiefly now represented by the mills of the Rosamond Company, the town has sometimes been described as "The Little Manchester of Canada."

One hundred years ago the place was but one of the numerous "falls" along the river, always interesting and of unusual beauty, ever since the days when pioneer settlements first began to cluster around the rapids and "The Bay"—the old-time name of the charmingly peaceful and half-hidden basin so snugly nestled at the foot of the falling waters, tumbling, as they still do, in foamy cascades from the upper reaches of the quiet river above.

Before the township of Ramsay was surveyed, and prior to the emigration of 1821, at any rate, perhaps not more than a dozen families had settled there, and these came chiefly from the earlier military settlements of Perth and Richmond, except in the neighbourhood of Morphy's Falls, in the adjoining north-east corner of the township of Beckwith. This township was ready for settlement in 1816. Three years later an emigration from the Scottish Highlands, carried in the three ships, *Sophia*, *Jean* and *Curlew*—Fergusons, Dewars, McGregors, McDougalls, McDiarmids and Carmichaels, as well as scores of others who amidst the forest wilderness continued to remember with a yearning unexpressed,

"The lone sheiling on the misty island."

But these settlers located for the most part some considerable distance from Morphy's Falls.

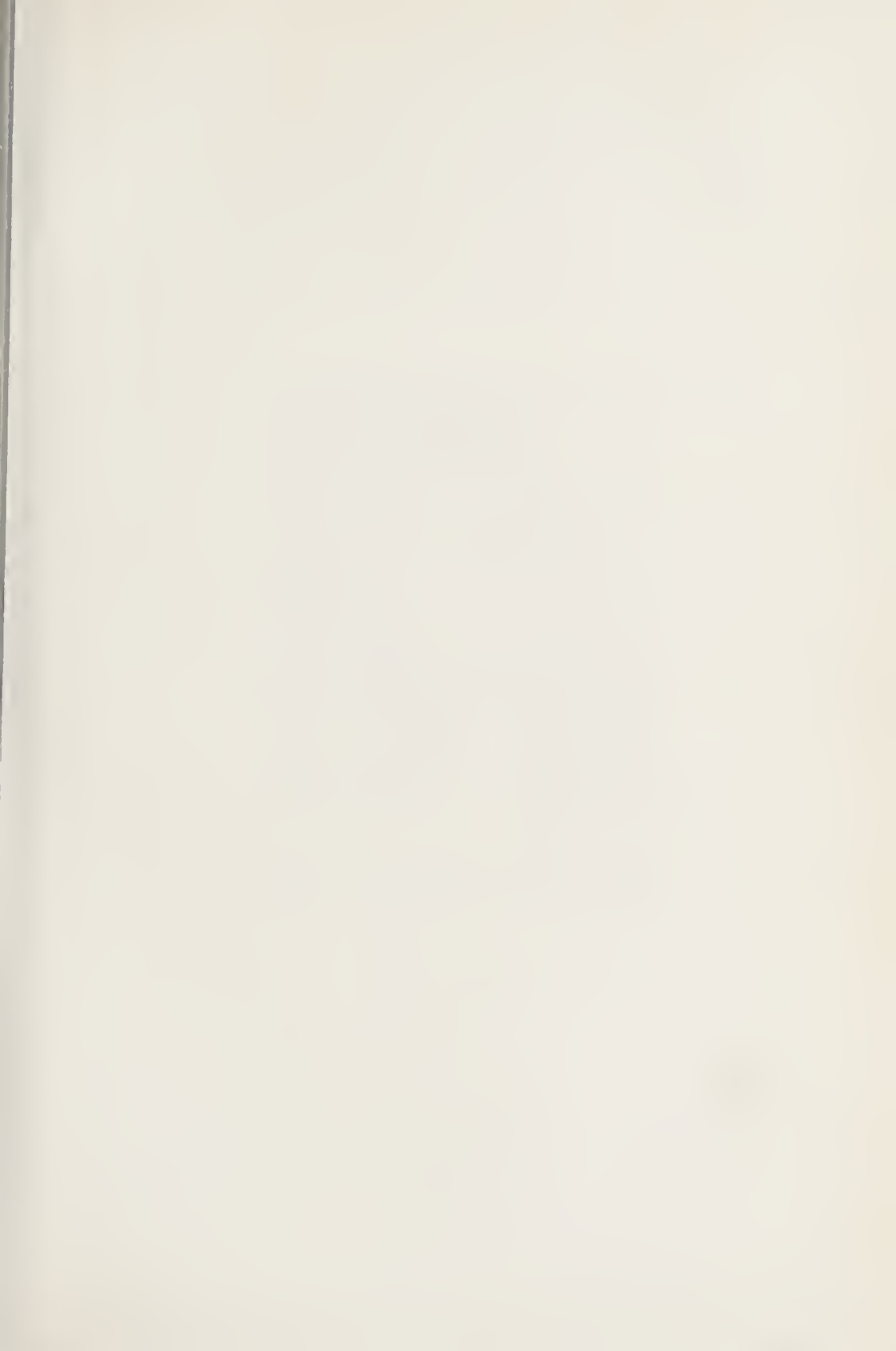
But already, ere yet the rush of settlement had overtaken either Beckwith or Ramsay, Edmund Morphy, with his three sons, William, John and James, had located on lands around the eastern end of Mississippi Lake, and where its waters again became the river and the rapids that gave the opportunity of designating the locality as Morphy's Falls, some eight or nine miles up the river from Shipman's Mills. Here, in 1818, Edmund Morphy built the pioneer house of what is now the town of Carleton Place. In 1820 two of Morphy's sons erected homes also within the townsite. And in the same year James Coleman purchased the water power along a part of the Morphy farm, intending to build a mill. The price agreed upon for the water privilege was that Coleman should grind a bushel of wheat in the contemplated mill within six months from the date of the sale. Later, discovering his inability to carry out the bargain under the performance of so onerous a condition, Coleman turned over his purchase to Hugh Bolton, who erected the mill and within the specified time began to grind wheat for the settlements, on stones of his own preparation.

And Morphy's Falls grew rapidly. In 1820 William Moore commenced a blacksmith's shop and Robert Barnett a cooperage business, two of the well-known and long-continued trades in the life of every village that served the wants of those who were to experience the full meaning of "life in the clearings." Two inhabitants of the new village, Thomas and George Willis, gave their daughters in marriage to John and William Morphy. In 1821 Alexander Morris had started a tannery, a potash "works," a store and a "groggery," which in the vernacular of this early day was the familiar designation for the hotel of our own. The next year John Loucks opened a store, and already mercantile, industrial and social life were establishing the foundations of Carleton Place—to-day an important junction point in Eastern Ontario on the trans-continental line of the Canadian Pacific Railway.

Some four miles farther down the river, where for many years the beautiful little hamlet of Appleton has clustered around what, a century ago, was known as Appletree Falls, no

sign of village life was then appearing. Appletree Falls, according to tradition, gained its name from the fact that here a number of such fruit trees were growing, having sprung from seeds thrown away by explorers and other adventurers passing up and down the river, and making use of the banks around this picturesque rapid as a favorite camping ground. Among the settlers belonging to Peter Robinson's emigration, presently to be described, were James and Joseph Teskey, who located on parts of lots seven and eight in the eleventh concession of Ramsay. Two of the grandsons of Joseph Teskey—Robert and Joseph by name—in later years erected a grist and sawmill, one on each side of the stream. In 1862 Robert built the Mississippi Woollen Mill and Joseph continued the grist mill. Both mills have in recent years passed into the possession of Mr. T. B. Caldwell, of Perth. And four miles farther down the stream from Appletree Falls was Shipman's Mills. Here, as early as 1819, a young Scotchman, David Sheppard, had constructed the frame of a sawmill on his 200-acre lot, granted by the Government on the condition that the location should be improved by the erection of a mill. Early in the following year a shanty was added, but never inhabited, and the mill was destroyed by fire. A "Yankee from Brockville," so runs an old account, by the name of Boyce, bought out Sheppard's claim, obtaining the actual conveyance in 1829, when Sheppard was residing at Buffalo, New York, and divided the property between his son and son-in-law—the latter, Daniel Shipman, who in 1820 had become the husband of Prudence Boyce, and who constructed a rude log house near what is now the business centre of Almonte. The next year Shipman built a sawmill and in 1822 a gristmill, and Sheppard's Mills had grown into and out of Shipman's Falls, and was already the hamlet of Shipman's Mills. The name of Waterford was yet to come, and this because for many years the only crossing was by fording the shallow water a few rods above the upper fall.

In curious and half-forgotten records are to be found stray references which take us back again over the years, and we get occasional glimpses of the transactions of these early settlers and of the course of events by which the passing years tell out their fugitive story. Writing in the Almonte





DANIEL SHIPMAN

Express of November 15th, 1861, the first year of publication of the first newspaper in Almonte, John McWhinnie, then of the Woodstock *Sentinel*, offers in a somewhat unexpected fashion a glimpse of the founding of the village—"In 1822 we assisted the original owner of the place, the late Daniel Shipman, to clear off the forest for the site of his first dwelling and the erection of the first grist mill in the township."

When the Lanark emigrants arrived in 1821, some of those whose lands were to be granted in Ramsay set out through the woods to find their locations. Arthur Lang, in his diary and letters, offers an interesting and instructive narrative. He finally selected a lot on the east bank of the Mississippi River, adjacent to Shipman's Mills.

"*Thursday*, July 19th. I set out for Ramsay Settlement to pick out 100 acres, but after six days' hard labour, travelling through swamps and untrodden paths through the woods, I had to return without selecting land, and now I have just to do the same thing over again. I have often heard it said that there were few stones in Canada, but it abounds in rocks and stones in the townships of Lanark and Dalhousie. To give you an idea of the woods in this place is quite beyond my power. The greater part of the forest, the underwood or bramble, is not so thick as at home, but a great deal of it is worse to go through than the worst of Crucatone Wood. A swamp—you can have no idea of it, but conceive Paisley moss, for instance, all grown over with large trees, some fresh and green, others half rotten, and a great many rotten from top to bottom, and almost as many lying in all directions as are standing, with not a living creature to be heard or seen, except a bird or two, and the owl screaming in your ears at night.

Wednesday, Nov. 7th.—My family came to my own house to-day. On the 12th the snow began to fall and continued till this day, which is the 15th. The 26th and 27th were very frosty and the river in some places was frozen right across."

In a letter to a friend, writing some months later, he gives a more graphic description:

"I have now arrived at the spot where Providence seems to have appointed me, and where, I believe, I shall spend the remainder of my days. We are all healthy and well pleased with the situation, and that is what a great number can't say.

Some have lost all their children, others, two or three of their family. Most of these sufferers are persevering. Others who have never felt any such hardship have run away almost at the very first appearance of the place. It is strange what different impressions the same place makes on different men. But really, that town called Lanark has no charm for me. When I first saw it, and I was a little downcast at first, there was nothing but rocky, stony hillocks, but there was fine Indian corn growing among the stones and they say it grows best in such places. There was one clearance in particular when I passed; but I could not keep the din of the fiddlers out of my ear, and I have given it no other name since. This place was about three miles out of Lanark, and there were twenty-three of us who passed it on our way to the township of Ramsay to look out our land, and for this number there were fifty lots given to look at. We were six days away, one going, one coming and four in looking at the land from sunrise to sunset every day. You were sometimes in what Gray was telling us about fine, clear woods. But, man, if you were in a cedar swamp, as we were, from three o'clock in the morning till dark night, and travelled only about two and three-quarter miles, I believe you would have been tired of America. There were four lots we did not get looking at, for our provisions ran out and we had to come home. Out of the twenty-six lots we saw, only eleven were taken, and those who had not got lots had just to get new tickets and make the journey over again."

Some of the settlers went into Ramsay by another route. These, with a love of adventure perhaps, and not caring to leave behind them their wives and children, devised the novel scheme of transport by water. John Steele, John Black, John Downey, Thomas and James Craig, John Smith, William Moir, John Neilson, William Hart, William Paul and a few others, whose family names continue to our own time, improvising temporary scows of logs and rough timbers, conducted a somewhat perilous voyage down the Mississippi River from its confluence with the Clyde just below the village of Lanark.

Down the stream their rude crafts were borne onwards with the current—past Ferguson's Falls, through the Innisville Rapids, down the ten-mile expansion of Mississippi Lake to Morphy's Falls (the town of Carleton Place to-day), past Appletree Falls, where the modern hamlet of Appleton still

offers more than a memory of its old river-side beauty, and onwards to Shipman's Mills, along a quiet stretch of river flowing between wooded banks, with here and there a grassy woodland plot, the earnest of some of the fair and prosperous farms that belong to the life of Ramsay township in these days. These voyagers squatted near the site now occupied by the Almonte town hall. They here erected rough wigwams and shortly afterwards left to cut out homes for themselves in the then almost unbroken forest.

By 1822 the settlers were establishing their homes with some permanency, but with limited means and few agricultural possessions. They were in the unhappy situation of the African traveller—"No cows had they to give them milk; no mills to grind their corn." But the greatest difficulty of all was to find the corn to grind. For in this year there is reported but one ox in Ramsay, owned by James Metcalfe, of the ninth line; one horse, by Robert Mansell, who also owned one of the two cows in the township, John Gemmill being the fortunate possessor of the other.

Margaret Leith Lindsay, who died at Cedar Hill, in Pakenham township, in 1903, and who came with her father from Lanarkshire in 1821, asserted that her father came to Shipman's Mills in the summer of 1822, finding there "a blacksmith's shop, a building owned by a Frenchman, another by an Indian and one belonging to Daniel Shipman."

However, the later spirit of enterprise so markedly shown in Almonte's future years, appeared already to be stirring in the pioneer settlers of the place. In the early autumn of 1822 Colonel Marshall reported to Colonel Francis Cockburn, a trip which he had lately made to the mouth of the Mississippi, covering some fifty miles. He describes the falls along the river, from Ferguson's down, exactly the route over which some of the Ramsay pioneers had floated their scows the year before, and refers to the various falls along the river interrupting the navigation, both above and below Shipman's:

"Notwithstanding these difficulties," he says, "a boat twenty-four feet long, built by the settlers at Sheppard's Falls

in Ramsay, went from that place to Lachine in five days and returned in seven. The people in that quarter are in high spirits at the idea of navigation passing that way to Montreal."¹

Rude indeed were the beginnings of civilization in Ramsay, as they had been in all the military settlements, and in all the communities springing up around. But there was peace and a new-found freedom from the landlord and the tax gatherer. And ere long there was plenty too. And always that liberty, which conditions the pursuit of happiness, found an ever-increasing expression in these new villages on the Mississippi, Morphy's Falls, and Shipman's Mills.

But for another picture of another life which presently contributed its quota to the settlement in Ramsay and around these hamlets, we must look again beyond the seas.

Reference has elsewhere been made to the unsettled condition of Europe, following Waterloo, and of the British islands, and to the financial embarrassments of industry and otherwise, in the train of which followed many and various distresses. In no part of Great Britain had calamity fallen with greater disaster than in Ireland. In the earlier years of the century, the question of Catholic Emancipation had already roused many a storm raging around the differences in faiths so strongly marked in the life of this island. And in the train of this political upheaval there followed a period of economic stress, intensifying the distress and discontent of an already unhappy country. At the end of 1815 accounts of Irish country fairs were described as closing in "general gloom and disappointment." On December 9th of that year 2,500 pigs were exposed for sale at Tipperary, the prices of which were little more than one-third of what they were in 1811. The years as they went by only grew into more serious difficulties. By the middle of 1820 this was written of the time:

"In the South of Ireland a local distress of a peculiar kind operated to a most unusual extent. Within a short space of time no fewer than eleven banks stopped payment. Only three remained solvent in the district. The consequence was that near Cork numbers of people were actually starving.

The farmers were afraid to bring in provisions to the towns, because they were apprehensive that whatever they might bring would be siezed by a famishing population.”²

In 1821 the potato crop was a failure through excessive rains. In all the towns hundreds of able-bodied men were idle. Poor people were actually obliged to resort to robbery for subsistence, and if all who were guilty were to be sent to prison the police reported that no jails could hold them. Indeed, many would be glad of imprisonment if their families could come as well. In June Lord Lansdowne reviewed the pressing questions of Irish land-holding and population. In the one hundred and twenty-five years from 1695 to 1820 the population had risen from a little over one to almost seven millions. The peasant considered himself justified in marrying and raising a family on the potatoes he could produce from his garden. There was a practice of letting land in common, which tended to create a pauper population. Taxation was heavy. Even increased duties on distillation led to contraband whiskey, when every illicit still became a school for resistance to the Government. Magistrates were not well appointed—laws were badly administered.

“In the West of Ireland when two parties disputed upon a piece of ground, their singular mode of settling the claim was to create a riot, to appear on the field and to fight it out. Afterwards each indicted the other before a magistrate and the person to whom damages was awarded rested in possession of the land, with a broken head into the bargain.”³

“But,” said Lansdowne, repeating the words of Sir John Davis:

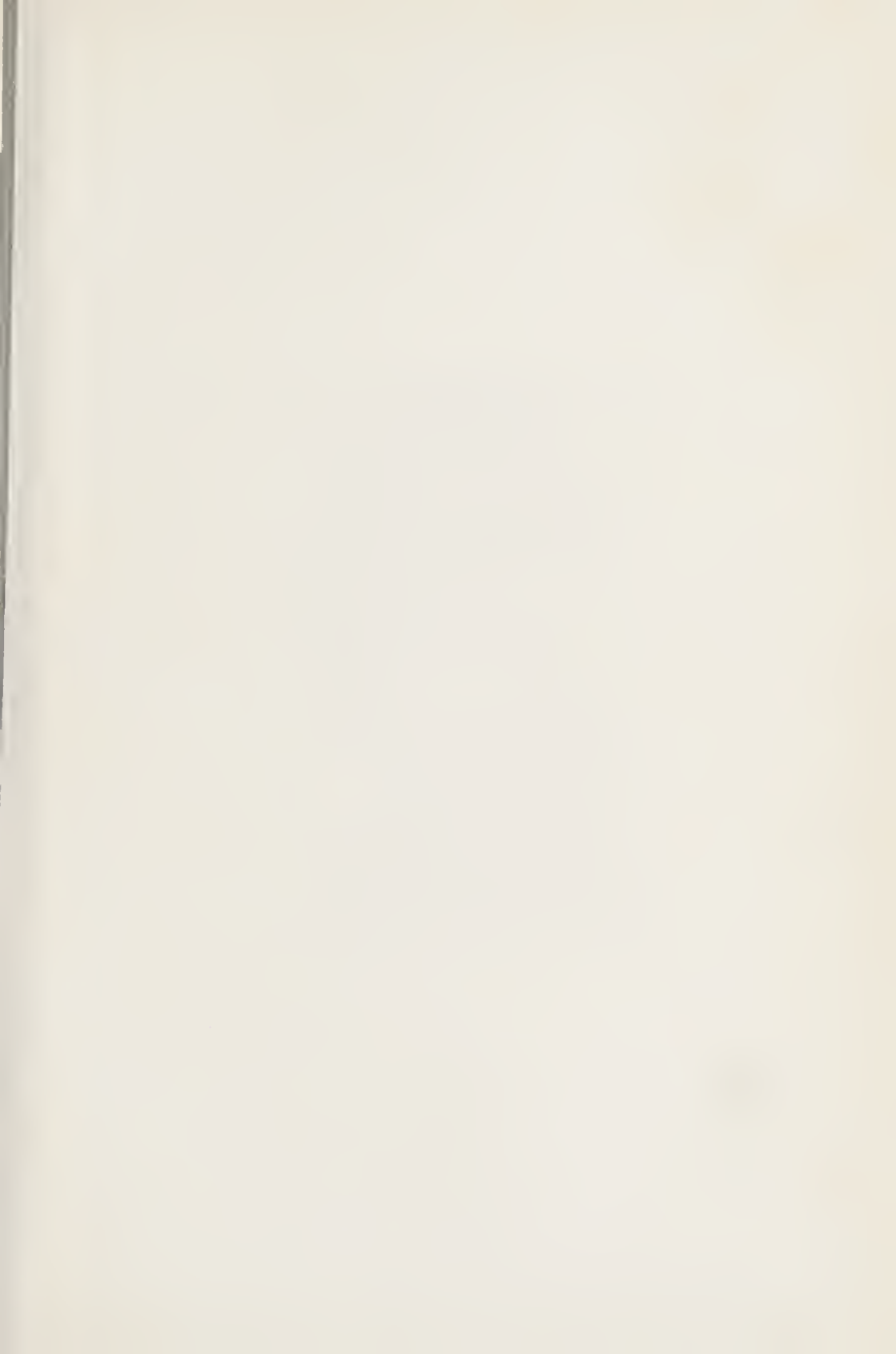
“There is no nation under the sun that does love equal and indifferent justice better than the Irish, or will rest more satisfied with its decisions, although against themselves, provided they have the protection of the laws when they so deserve it.”⁴

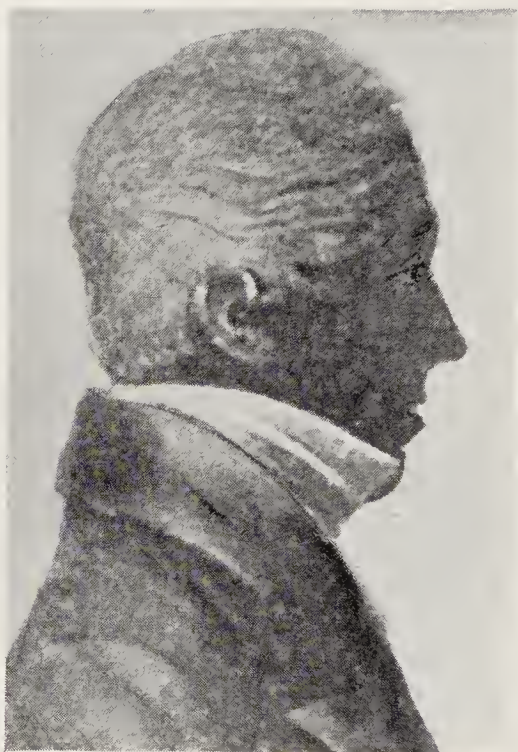
Before the Select Committee appointed by the British Government in 1826, to inquire into emigration from the United Kingdom, to whom were referred the reports of the sessions of 1823, 1825, and 1827 on the State of Ireland, and

the poor of that country, the Lord Bishop of Limerick gave further illuminating testimony. After pointing out that the evil lay in a redundant population, and that it could not be cured by money relief, for that meant a dependence on casual bounty, His Lordship pointed out that some real provision could be made by emigration. The process of ejectments had raised what he called a surreptitious tenantry, who on being dispossessed hung about the roads in miserable hovels in the ditches.

“The existing state of things is truly frightful. When the under-tenants of under-tenants are dispossessed, after a season of patient suffering, they go into some other district, perhaps a peaceful one. There they fail not to find friends, clansmen and fellow-factionaires, whom they bring back with them by night to avenge their cause. It is avenged in blood, and where occasion offers the service is repaid in kind. Thus the whole country is in flames. I will mention one instance of my own knowledge. It was the case of the dispossessed tenantry of an estate. They had not paid their rent and were suddenly dispossessed. They were in the most deplorable state, without houses, without food without clothing or money—starving and almost dying in the ditches. I saw an affecting memorial on their behalf praying that the proprietor on whose estate they had been would procure for them the privilege and means of emigration. They had, to my knowledge, been exemplary in peaceableness amidst surrounding disturbances. But from want, perhaps, rather of power than of will, their petition was not granted. I ventured to predict that if they were not in some way relieved, the consequences would be dreadful. And so they were. They brought their friends just in the way I have been describing, from other districts—blood followed—afterwards, prosecutions, convictions, executions.”⁵

Already, in 1822, proposals from Lord Kingston and others were laid before Government, looking to aid for emigration from Ireland, and various schemes were proposed. It was not, however, till the end of the year that any definite plan was outlined, and here the proposals were coupled with the name of a Canadian. Peter Robinson was the eldest son of a family of whom the Honourable John Beverley Robinson, afterwards





HON. PETER ROBINSON

By Courtesy of the Toronto Public Library

successively Attorney-General and Chief Justice of Upper Canada, was the most distinguished son. Prominent in the Province and distinguished in the recent war with the United States, the name was well-known in England. Moreover, Peter had been captain of the First Regiment of the York Militia and had been mentioned in despatches! He had been taken prisoner of war at the surrender of York, and having escaped, and returned, he, in after years, became Member for York in the Legislative Assembly, and in turn a Legislative Councillor and Commissioner of Crown Lands. At the beginning of 1823, when the British Government decided upon a course of action over the problem of Irish emigration, Peter Robinson was entrusted with the superintendence of the business, and a memorandum was issued outlining the authority under which he should act, and setting forth the conditions of the proposed emigration:

“Desirous of alleviating the inconveniences of excessive population in Ireland, and at the same time of giving to the Provinces of Canada an accession of emigrants capable of improving the advantages afforded by these Colonies to active and industrious men, of a certain number of settlers on a system which will best insure their immediate comfort, there can be little doubt that the offer of Government to convey such as may be willing to emigrate to a colony in which many of their countrymen are happily settled, and where they have the certain prospect of maintaining themselves in comfort and being useful to the Empire, will be gladly embraced.

“It is thought prudent to attempt nothing more this year than can certainly be carried into effect with a due regard to the comfort of the emigrant, and to public economy in the conduct of the measure. Accordingly, it has been ordered that means shall, with as little delay as possible, be provided in the harbour of Cork, for conveying to Quebec such persons not exceeding 500 in number, as are willing to become settlers in the Province of Upper Canada.

“To insure as much as possible the welfare of the emigrants and in order that every necessary arrangement may be made for their comfortable settlement upon their lands, Mr. Robinson, a gentleman who is usually resident in Upper Canada, has, at the request of the Government, undertaken to superintend the embarkation of the settlers. And to make the necessary

previous dispositions for their reception in Canada and their location upon their lots, he will proceed immediately to Fermoy, where all applications are to be addressed to him in person, and as, from the present advanced state of the season, no time is to be lost, no person can be received who shall not be ready to embark on the first of July next.

"To all who may be disposed to emigrate from the south of Ireland, and who may be accepted by the superintendent, the Government will afford a passage to Canada, and will convey them to their homes free of expense. Provisions will be found them, and they will be furnished with medical assistance during the whole of their voyage and journey. Upon their arrival on the tract destined for their settlement, every male emigrant above the age of eighteen years and under forty-five shall receive a location ticket or order for seventy acres of land; the utensils necessary for a new settler shall be furnished them at the public expense, and they shall receive provisions for one year after they shall have taken possession of their lands.

"As an inducement to industry and good conduct, an additional tract of thirty acres shall be reserved adjoining to each grant of seventy acres, of which the right of pre-emption, upon the terms which will be explained by the Superintendent, shall be preserved for ten years to the proprietor of such adjoining tract. The terms upon which such additional grant will be made, with the mode and time of obtaining the patent for the first grant, are all particularly set forth in a paper printed by authority which will be furnished by the Superintendent to each settler, and of which the terms will be rigidly fulfilled by the Government, and such conditions as are incumbent upon the party will require in like manner to be punctually performed.

"As it is extremely desirable that the assistance thus offered by Government shall be afforded only to persons capable of becoming useful settlers in a new colony, it is to be understood that no person shall receive land under this system who shall be at the time of his emigration above the age of forty-five years, and in the present instance it is deemed prudent to confine the selection to persons not having more than three children under fourteen.

"It is declared that Upper Canada offers in soil and climate everything to be desired, as will be proved, indeed, by the present condition of many with and without aid who have removed

thither. No one is compelled to go. The measure seeks to avoid "casual and undirected emigration." If the experiment succeeds the system may be more considerably pursued in future years, "dependent, however, upon the good conduct in the colony of those who may be anxious to avail themselves of the present offer, as well as on that of the future claimants for similar assistance, whom it is out of the power of Government to remove in the present year."⁶

The paper which was to set forth the terms of obtaining the land grants, and which repeated the Government's general offer, was printed by "Thomas Lindsay, King Street, opposite Abbey Street, Fermoy, Ireland," and distributed all over southern Ireland, being advertised also in the newspapers of the day. The additional conditions covering settlement duties required for obtaining the land grants were set out in detail:

"The order or location ticket for seventy acres, to be given to the emigrant on his arrival, shall express certain duties of settlement and cultivation, the same in proportion as are required by the Government to be performed on lands granted in Upper Canada to other settlers, and the period to be allowed for the performance of such duties shall also be expressed in the order.

"So soon as the settlement duties shall have been performed, the party may obtain his patent on paying the expense of preparing the same, which it is supposed will not exceed two pounds ten shillings on each grant.

"Each tract of seventy acres so granted shall be subjected to the payment of an annual quit rent to the Crown of two-pence per acre, to be paid half yearly in such manner and subject to such penalties and forfeitures, in the case of failures, as shall be expressed in the patent, and the same quit rent shall be charged also upon the grant of thirty acres,

"It shall, however, in every case, be in the option of the proprietor to redeem the quit rent at any time on paying of twenty years purchase and with respect to the original location of seventy acres, no quit rent shall be chargeable until five years have expired from the time of location.

"It is intended that all persons who shall be thus assisted by the Government in removing to Upper Canada shall become actual settlers in the Province, and it is necessary that it

should be clearly understood that if the condition of cultivation and improvement to be specified in the location ticket shall not be performed within the period prescribed, or if the person locating on any lot under the present system shall, before receiving his patent for the same, withdraw from Upper Canada, and remain absent for the space of six months, without sufficient cause to be allowed by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province, the land so assigned to such person may be given to another applicant."⁷

Peter Robinson proceeded to carry out his commission without delay. He set about trying to get, as emigrants, small farmers who had been dispossessed. His efforts were received with a good deal of jealousy at first, since the people considered the scheme as "a plan of Government to get rid of them, rather than to relieve them." Some who had returned from Canada, including a few discharged soldiers, gave corroboration to Robinson's statements of good-will and assurances that life in Canada meant in the end prosperity. Soon applications came pouring in and the Superintendent made his selections.

"The emigrants I took were selected from the persons who were recommended to me by the principal noblemen and gentlemen of the country, as being absolutely paupers, and such as it was particularly desirous to get rid of."⁸

Certificates of passage were given to heads of families throughout the months of April, May and June, while the work of selection was proceeding, according to the following form:

"No. 109

CERTIFICATE FOR PASSAGE TO UPPER CANADA
(Not Transferable)

Ireland, April 18th, 1823.

"Connamore, County of Cork.

"*These* are to certify that the undermentioned persons of the parish of Listowel, in the County of Kerry, Ireland, have been received by me, as emigrant settlers, to be conveyed to Upper Canada, and placed upon their lands at the expense of His Majesty's Government:

The Ballyghibblins

NAME	AGE
Timothy Keane.....	42
(Head of family, farmer)	
Margaret Keane.....	40
(Wife)	
Mary.....	20
Thomas.....	19
Catherine.....	17
Patrick.....	15
Timothy.....	12
Johanna.....	8
(Children)	

"Recommended by Lord Ennismore.

(Signed) P. ROBINSON.

"Superintendent of Emigration from
South of Ireland to Canada."⁹

By the 21st of May the Navy Board provided the troop-ships *Hebe*, of 416 tons, and *Stakesby*, of 438 tons, for the conveyance of about 568 passengers, men, women and children, from Cork to Quebec, with provisions, medicines, water and supplies. Leaving the port together on the 8th of July, the *Stakesby* arrived at Quebec on the 3rd of September, having lost one woman and four children. The *Hebe* landed her passengers two days before, and during her voyage four children died at sea. Surgeon-doctors Dickson and Hamilton, of the Royal Navy, accompanied the emigrants and inland also as far as Fort Wellington. The total expenditure from Quebec to the destined settlement, including an estimate to cover a year's rations, was fixed at £5,434, 17s., 9d., Halifax currency, at four shillings to the dollar.

In connection with the expense of this emigration, some extracts from a report made by Colonel Cockburn, is of interest here:

"It will be seen by reference to a report which I had the honor of drawing up for the information of Lord Dalhousie, in 1821, that 167 families sent out from Lanarkshire averaged as nearly as possible five individuals to each family, the total number being 833, and that the expense incurred, exclusive of the voyage to Quebec, was £11, 7s., 3d. each. But Mr.

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

Robinson's settlers were provided with the following articles, none of which were estimated for in the enumeration of articles supplied to the Lanark settlers, viz:

182 cows.....	£819
Farming utensils.....	230
Assistance in building houses.....	450
(putting log building on each lot)	
Guides to show the lands.....	150
Seed corn and seed potatoes.....	364
Medical advice and medicines.....	100
Shoes and flannel.....	150
	£2,263

"Which, if divided amongst the 568 settlers, will account for near £4 to each, making the expenditure on the Lanark emigration in 1820 and that conducted by Mr. Robinson in 1823 nearly equal."¹⁰

The provisions supplied to the vessels were generous indeed at the time—beef, pork, oatmeal, cocoa, cheese, butter and biscuit, the usual provision for seamen, with tea and sugar for the women. All the way to the settlement and, excepting for the arduous and troublesome passage inland to Fort Wellington and on past Brockville and Perth to Morphy's Falls and Shipman's Mills, there was no reason for complaint over rations. Peter Robinson, in his evidence before the Emigration Committee, gives his summary of the feeling prevailing as his colony arrived at the end of their long journey:

"Fortunately the autumn was unusually pleasant and free from rain, and they suffered less from exposure than could have been expected, or than they would have done earlier in the season, and arriving late there were neither flies nor mosquitoes in the woods to annoy them. They were first encamped in the immediate neighbourhood of persons who had been placed on their lands three years before, and many of these their own countrymen, so that they had an opportunity of seeing how far advanced and how comfortable they were after three or four years' residence in the country, and this seemed to encourage them very much. In justice to these poor people, I should remark that, during the three months I was with them in the forest, there was neither constable nor magistrate

within twenty miles of us, and that they at all times showed the greatest readiness to obey me in everything, and I never met with people more grateful for a little act of kindness.”¹¹

A few interesting notes of the nature and character of this emigration may be gathered from the Emigration Report. Of the number, ten were Protestant—the rest Roman Catholic. Many had been mechanics in Ireland, such as blacksmiths and other tradesmen, who also cultivated perhaps an acre or less—a potato garden. Others had been weavers or small farmers. All had tried to be industrious, but had lived through distressing periods of unemployment. It had been common to find two or three families in one cabin, and of these one emigrated, the others remained. Most of them could read and write and “calculate their allowance of rations to the eighth part of an ounce.”

The temporary establishment for the winter was fixed at Shipman’s Mills, and the immediate work was that of finding for the heads of families and young men over eighteen years of age lots of land upon which final settlement would be made. The Executive Council at York, when once the military settlements were taken over, had designated from time to time some of its members as a Land Board for the consideration of applicants for patents and locations. To control the locations of Robinson’s settlers in the District of Bathurst, a special Land Board was set up at Perth, with Major Powell, who had been the Superintendent of the Perth Military Settlement, as chairman. Each settler received a location ticket very different in form from the earlier document of this kind issued over seven years before to the settlers at Perth-upon-Tay. The conditions of the location tickets in the case of these Irish settlers included, as will be seen, the standing conditions in force in Upper Canada under Orders-in-Council of the 20th of October, 1818, and the 21st of February, 1820, which applied equally to all classes of grantees. These orders provided that locatees shall clear thoroughly and fence five acres for every one hundred acres granted; build a house 16 by 20 feet in the clear; clear one-half of the road and chop down, without clearing, one chain in depth across the lot next to the road,

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

these road duties to be considered as part of the five acres per hundred; the whole to be completed within two years from the date of the location, and on proof of fulfilment patent to issue.

A location ticket for an Irish settler in 1823 read, therefore, in this way:

“LAND BOARD, DISTRICT OF BATHURST.

“*Whereas:*

“Roger Cunningham, born at Fermoy, County of Cork, Ireland, and of the age of thirty-eight years, has been conveyed to this country at the public charge, under the Superintendence of the Hon. Peter Robinson, and has produced a certificate of his being accepted as an emigrant settler, to receive land in Upper Canada, and has taken the oath of allegiance;

“We do assign to him seventy acres of land, being the rear part of the East half of lot number six, in concession eleven, township of Goulbourn, in the District of Bathurst, for which, having cleared half the width of the concession road bounding the said seventy acres, and having cleared and fenced three and one-half acres within the said location and erected a dwelling house thereon of at least sixteen feet by twenty feet, within two years from the date hereof, he will be entitled to receive a grant, free of any other than the usual fee for the patent. An additional thirty acres, adjoining the said seventy acres will be reserved for the space of ten years, to commence from this date, which the said Roger Cunningham will be entitled to receive a grant for, upon paying the sum of ten pounds sterling.

“The said several tracts of land to be liable to quit rent of two pence per acre, payable in such times and in such manner as set forth in the memorandum published by the authority of the British Government for the information of said Emigrants.

“Given under our Hands at Perth, Upper Canada, this seventh day of November, 1824.”

(Signed by officer issuing warrant).¹²

Robinson left his Irish colony in February, 1824, sailing again for Britain and presently becoming further interested in Irish emigration, which resulted, the next year, in an extensive settlement in the District of Newcastle, in the neighbourhood of Peterboro. The story of this migration forms no part of the history of Bathurst. With the departure of the

superintendent, some of the more reckless and idle appear to have caused uneasiness in the village of Shipman's Mills and among the neighbouring settlers. Some ran away to the United States. A few sold their rations occasionally for rum, and scenes of drunkenness and turbulence were not uncommon. Settlers coming to the mill were occasionally molested by the idlers, and the Shipman family complained of interference, especially as on Mr. Shipman's liquor supply envious Irish eyes were cast, and at all times constable and peace officers were liable to be treated with disrespect. There had been too many constables in Ireland, and the new land of freedom ought not to carry anywhere upon its landscape these marks of disfiguration. Houses of a kind were provided for the winter. Blankets and implements from the military stores at Perth were freely supplied; and the settlers had arrived in such a miserable condition that shoes and other articles of clothing had to be provided against the approaching rigours of winter. Of course the Orangemen there were roused, and commenced the formation of a Lodge in Perth. And so the winter passed and in the springtime preparations were begun to get the settlers to their lands in Ramsay, Huntley and Pakenham, for in these townships, largely, their locations lay. But ere the settlers were distributed upon their lands, the month of April witnessed a most unusual disturbance, rousing the whole countryside and convulsing the villages of Morphy's Falls and Shipman's Mills. Like Browning's story in "The Ring and the Book," there have been almost as many varying accounts of the occurrences and as many attempts to fix the blame or to offer excuse, as there were factions or writers in the settlements. Distance from the scene of the riot, as it was called, lent the enchantment of romance in the telling of the story. For the most part reports came to the outside world through the military eyes of Perth, or from those who claimed for the Protestant and Orange Party all the virtues and all the loyalty, with all the consequent exaggerations and distortions.

It might be unfair to suggest that the settlers at Morphy's Falls were of a more quarrelsome disposition than at other places in the District. In later years Bytown became notorious for

the roughness and almost lawlessness of its life. The jail at Perth, in the earlier years, gathered most of its tenants from the Ottawa River. Morphy's Falls, however, was from the beginning a "Protestant" stronghold, where those of the Roman faith received but scant courtesy. Even as the village grew onwards to more importance, it never had the staid propriety of Perth, or the quieter inland graces of Lanark. All the early villages, indeed, were given to the excessive consumption of whiskey, which added its ready flame to the smouldering fires of racial or religious differences. Where the people were Irish only, or Scotch only, or of one general faith, the arguments, warm and urgent as they always became when the flowing bowl went freely around, were seldom enforced with cudgels or shillalahs. But Morphy's Falls, or Carleton Place, as it was known after the year 1830, when Caleb Bellows, the postmaster, gave it this name, presented even in the middle of the century some pictures of life not altogether praiseworthy. Two references will suffice. Johnston Neilson, the village schoolmaster, writing to the *Herald* in March, 1851, offers a criticism by no means flattering.

"If there be any spot more than another where it behooves parents to be strict in respect to their children's out-of-door behaviour, I consider it to be Carleton Place. For having in the course of my life resided for longer or shorter periods in several very large towns, as well as smaller ones, whether in this or in the Mother country, I unhesitatingly declare that this village is the worst place I know of for rearing boys."

A description of the closing of Fair Day, on the 6th of April, 1852, offers another picture:

"There was an average stock of drunken bipeds in the village, some of whom were under eighteen years. The day was finished by one of those party fights between Orangemen and Catholics, which have been the disgrace and ruin of Ireland, and which occasionally break out among her sons in this land of their adoption. The revengeful, rancorous and bitter spirit manifested by both parties exceeds anything of the kind which has ever transpired here. We know not to what length their passions would have carried them, had they not been

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checked by the prompt and decisive action of Mr. Robert Bell, who was called to the spot by the uproar, where there were about fifty actually engaged, and the whole crowd which filled the street were fast giving way to their passions."

Nearly thirty years earlier scenes like these might be expected to present more pronounced forms of hostility and offer to the newspapers of the time reports of riots and disturbances exciting comment all over the country. But Carleton Place has long since sown its wild oats and has presented for many decades the exemplary life of the average Ontario town.

In offering his evidence before the Select Committee on Emigration, on the 23rd of February, 1825, Peter Robinson gave his own version of the incident, which may here be summarized. On the 23rd of April, 1824, according to the rule and practice of the time, the militia were called out to a general muster of training. The Irish settlers were included in the call. The meeting unfortunately took place at Morphy's Falls, near the inn or "groggery" of William Morris, an institution to which reference has already been made. Morris had previously rendered himself obnoxious. He had fomented the feelings existing on the part of some of the older settlers who had not received any aid at the beginning and

"who were jealous that men from the south of Ireland, who, they said, had done nothing to entitle themselves to any bounty from the Government, further than keeping their own country disturbed, should be more liberally dealt with than they themselves had been."¹³

It might also be added, though not referred to by Robinson, that Captain Glendinning, of the 4th Carleton Militia, acted in an overbearing and altogether hateful manner, rousing the enmity of Irish Catholics in particular.

A breach of the peace ensued. Warrants were issued for the arrest of those claimed to be guilty of assaults

"and the constable, who insisted on going to the dwellings of the people, very unwisely went to the depot, the morning after St. Patrick, where a crowd of the emigrants were assembled in the yard."¹⁴

The constables were advised by the more reasonable and sober not to try enforcing authority. They desisted, but gave on their return to Perth a very exaggerated account of the affair.

"Upon this the magistrates took alarm and sent a stronger force to compel the execution of their orders, and the consequence, I regret to say, was the sacrifice of the life of one of the settlers. That these poor people were hardly dealt with and most injudiciously, I am assured by the very best of authority."¹⁵

The *Montreal Herald* of May 5th, 1824, contains the report of a correspondent from Perth, tinged as it was with party feeling, and gathered from the rumours that gained so much in colour and intensity as they came to Perth over the rough bush pathway. It offers some illuminating sidelights upon the conditions of the time:

"I regret to have occasion to communicate a disagreeable occurrence which occupies much of the public attention in this neighbourhood. The Irish emigrants who arrived in this settlement last season, under the auspices of Government and superintendence of the Hon. Peter Robinson, are carrying outrages to such extremes as almost to baffle the efforts of the civil authorities to keep them in check. On the 23rd of April, His Majesty's Birthday, a part of one of the militia regiments assembled for training at Morphy's Falls, in the township of Ramsay, when such scenes of outrage took place as would require an abler pen than mine to describe. While a party, principally Scots, were drinking His Majesty's health in the house of Mr. Alexander Morris, they were attacked by the Ballygibinets, as the Irish emigrants termed themselves, the windows stove in and the floor and walls literally washed with blood. A gun was forcibly taken from one of the party in Morris' house and the person who carried it off was wounded by a shot fired at him when making his retreat with the prize. Since the 23rd fresh outrages have been committed. A Captain Glendinning, of the 4th Carleton Militia, has almost been murdered, and the house of Mr. Morris, who, from personal dread had left it, was on Monday last forcibly entered; but it is not yet ascertained what the extent of damage and pillage may amount to. A meeting of the magistrates took place this day (April 28th), when it was determined that the

under-sheriff, with a strong armed party, should forthwith proceed to apprehend all those against whom warrants had been issued."

Imagination can readily call up this scene of one hundred years ago. Among the Irish were men driven in the past by intolerable conditions to oppose the exactions of landlords and taxgatherers, and while struggling for a bare existence were unwisely led, or on occasion tempted, into forcible resistance to authority. On the other hand were those different in racial origin and worshipping at another shrine. Many of these were men trained in arms, in constant obedience to commanders, in knowing only until recently the tradition and the practice of military life—just returned, in fact, from wars in the old land and in the new. Was it to be wondered at that drinking the King's health on His Majesty's birthday, when, indeed, numerous and generous potations were required to assure His Majesty of the faithfulness of his loyal subjects, should not be exceedingly suggestive of the possibility that some of both groups might eventually be led to fight their battles o'er again.

The magistrates presented their views to the Lieutenant-Governor, reinforced by sworn statements taken from some settlers, who had seen or shared in the celebration. Wearing as they did their military spectacles, the impression the justices sought to give was not very partial to the "Ballyghibblins." The Lieutenant-Governor, in polite, but direct, expression intimated the idea that that story might have two sides, and announced his intention of asking an independent report from the Adjutant-General. With a review of the situation given by this officer, the story of the riot ends, except for the final disposition of some of the offenders haled before the Quarter Sessions, or later in the summer tried at the Criminal Assize. The various statements and correspondence tell out the story in detail:¹⁶

"Upper Canada, Queenstown, 27th July, 1824.

"My Lord, I think it necessary to report to your lordship the result of a particular enquiry which I directed to be made into the origin and progress of the disturbances that had recently arisen among the Irish settlers brought out by Mr.

Robinson. Accounts hastily written and opinions very prematurely expressed in the public papers of the nature and particulars of these disturbances, if they should have reached your lordship will be best corrected by the perusal of the enclosed report, from which your lordship will perceive that the unhappy occurrence of one of the settlers having fallen as it would appear in opposition to the regular execution of the laws is to be attributed in great measure, if not wholly, to a very wanton and outrageous aggression of the party who had accompanied the deputy sheriff. An explanation of the past transactions, as well as the existence of the present state of things among these people, lead me to believe that an exaggerated opinion of what was to be apprehended from these emigrants occasioned a want of that discretion on the part of the magistrates which a little experience of such scenes would have given them, and the early exercise of which would have most probably prevented so unfortunate a result. I have satisfaction in adding that all is now perfectly quiet, without a resort to that appearance of coercion, the calling in of the military, which the magistrates thought necessary, but for which I am convinced there never was occasion. This I collected from their report while their apprehension existed, and before I had ordered the particular investigation which has since taken place.

“Your lordship will find from my letter to the magistrates that I conceived they had overrated the danger, and probably mistaken the means of removing it. The report of the Assistant Adjutant-General of the Militia and the present quiet conduct of the emigrants confirm the view of things which I had taken.

“I have the honor to be, my Lord,

“Your Lordship’s most obedient, humble servant,

“P. MAITLAND.

“The Rt. Hon. the Earl Bathurst, K. G., etc., etc.”

“*Perth*, 4th May, 1824.

“Sir—A special meeting of the magistrates of the District of Bathurst having been convened, they beg leave to state for the information of His Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor, that the township of Ramsay and its vicinity is in a most disturbed state, that the peaceable inhabitant is in terror of his life, and at this busy season of the year, when the farmer should be providing for his family, he is compelled to abandon his house, and seek for refuge in the woods (as an outlaw) for

the preservation of his life; that these outrages and breaches of the peace are committed by the emigrants from the south of Ireland, lately arrived under the superintendence of the Hon. Peter Robinson, who set all law of defiance and avow that they will submit to no jurisdiction but their own, nor obey any peace officers unless overpowered by force.

“That on the 23rd of April, at the muster of part of the 4th Carleton Militia, a riot took place; that the doors and windows of a Mr. Alexander Morris’s house were broken and his life threatened by these people. In consequence of these threats, after having repaired the damage his house had sustained, he fled to Perth for protection; that on Monday, the 26th April, upwards of one hundred men of the same party assembled in a riotous manner and marched in seeming military order, and appeared regularly to obey the commands of an individual; that they marched with music and displayed a green flag, and having arrived at the house of the said Morris, they repeated their violent conduct by breaking open the door, entering the house and destroying his property. In consequence of numerous complaints from that part of the District, the sheriff requested a meeting of the magistrates, informing them that the township of Ramsay was in an unprotected state, that a set of lawless banditti were threatening destruction to the lives and property of every honest individual in the neighbourhood, and that he deemed it absolutely necessary that a strong party of constables, armed, should be sent to enforce order and the due execution of the warrants then in his possession; accordingly, a party of constables, under the deputy sheriff (the sheriff himself being unable from extreme illness of giving his personal attendance), and accompanied by three magistrates, proceeded for the purpose of apprehending the rioters. When the constables arrived at Shepherd’s Falls (the depot of these emigrants), the former were divided into two divisions; one party went to the depot, the other to a blacksmith’s shop (where they were in the habit of assembling), on their approach to which they were fired at from the inside of the house and one of the constables wounded, in consequence of which the fire was returned, and one killed and two wounded of the party inside the house. From the information received from that part of the country and from the depositions which we have the honour to enclose, we are of opinion that nothing short of a party of regular troops, to be stationed for some time in the neighbourhood of these

people, can restore peace and confidence to the good and well-disposed inhabitants. In offering an opinion on this subject to His Excellency, we further beg leave to state that no warrant can be executed without having recourse to a large armed force, which at the present season of the year must ruin the industrious farmer, and possibly bring his family to destruction.

"The enclosed certificate from the magistrates who accompanied the constables will more particularly show His Excellency the disturbed state of that part of the District."

"We have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient, humble servants,

"(Signed) W. Morris, J.P., Al. Thom, J.P., R. Matheson, Josias Taylor, J. Watson, C. W. Lache, H. Graham, Christ. J. Bell, W. Marshall, A. Fraser, G. H. Reade, Benjamin Delisle, A. McMillan, J. McKay."

"Perth, May 4, 1824.

"We certify that we accompanied a party of armed men from this place on Saturday, the second instant, to Morphy's Falls in Beckwith, under the command of the deputy sheriff, to execute warrants against certain settlers at Shipman's Falls. On the evening of the 2nd instant we took such depositions of people there as came forward respecting the riotous conduct of a large assemblage of Mr. Robinson's settlers on the days of the 23rd, 24th and 26th of April, ulto.

"Accompanied the same party at daylight on the following morning, and took affidavits from settlers on our route, as well as at Shipman's Falls, which affidavits accompany this. We are of opinion that the people labour under such fear for the lives of themselves and families, and the destruction of their property, that they will not mention many of the leaders in these riots. Several of the settlers have not slept in their houses for a week past, from being in fear of their lives from threats held out against them, and that they would be obliged to quit their habitations.

"In particular Mr. Shipman, we believe, the proprietor of the gristmill, offered to make oath that on the withdrawing of the armed force, he was convinced his house and mill would be burned and the lives of himself and family endangered, which statement was corroborated by the Roman Catholic priest, then resident among them. On the party approaching one of the huts, resistance was given by a fire from it by a shot

or shots which was returned, and the unfortunate issue will be fully detailed in a separate document on the return of the party under the deputy sheriff.

“(Signed) Al. Thom, W. Marshall, H. Graham.”

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“A copy of depositions taken before the following magistrates assembled at Morphy’s Falls in the township of Beckwith, in said District, on Saturday, the first day of May, 1824:

“William Marshall, Alexander Thom and Henry Graham, Esquires.

“Personally appeared (before us, William Marshall Alexander Thom and Henry Graham, Justices of Our Lord the King assigned to keep the peace within the said District) William Loucks, of the said township of Beckwith, and maketh oath as follows (that is to say):

“On Friday, the 23rd of April, I saw Bat Murphy, of the township of Ramsay, strike the door of Mr. Morris, at Morphy’s Falls aforesaid, with a club (the door being shut), and throw stones towards the window of said house, and that on opening the door from the inside I saw John French (generally residing about Morphy’s Falls) strike a man at the door, likewise William Brown, who was battering the said house with a club. I saw a man knocked down of the name of John Munro, but cannot say by whom. Several others were present of Mr. Robinson’s settlers, who were acting notoriously, but do not know their names.

““On the 24th I saw Luke, which I believe to be Luke McGrath, knock down Captain Glendinning in my house, in the upper apartment, with a club. The house being full of people, several of them enquired for Captain Glendinning, and I attempted to prevent them going upstairs, wishing to allow only two to go up, fearing that violence was to be used to him.

“(Signed) WILLIAM LOUCKS.”

“Personally appeared Wm. Murphy, residing at Morphy’s Falls, and maketh oath as follows, viz.; that John Cocklin (one of Mr. Robinson’s settlers) on the day of the 23rd of April, broke Mr. Morris’s shop window with an axe handle; that John French struck the door of Mr. Morris and also violently struck Mr. Wilson, of Ramsay, and others, with a club, and threw stones into the house whenever the door was attempted to be opened. Bat. Murphy I saw throw stones

at the window of Mr. Morris, and saw him strike one Benson, with a stone, in the head. William Brown I saw throwing stones at the house and having a club in his hand, he struck several, but do not know their names. They said and swore they would fight any Scotsman in the country. There were a number of Mr. Robinson's settlers present with clubs. I saw a gun seized from John Fummerton by John Lackie and carried off by him, and John Fummerton knocked down at the same time by that party. On the 24th I saw John French about Mr. Loucks all the noon of that day saying that he would not leave the place till he had satisfaction of Mr. Glendinning. He was armed with a gun. Twenty of Mr. Robinson's settlers crossed the river that day and came to Mr. Loucks' house, many of whom threatened to have Mr. Glendinning's life.

"I understand Mr. Glendinning was in Mr. Louck's house. On the 26th I saw a number of men which I believe were Mr. Robinson's settlers pass through the field in which I was working, rank and file, with a green flag in front of them, carried by Luke McGrath. They were armed with guns and bludgeons and going the direction of Mr. Loucks'. I heard several shots fired. Some told me they were at Mr. Glendinning's looking for him to fight a duel with one John Sullivan. Soon after they arrived at Mr. Loucks' I heard a noise and saw a member of the same party break the door and windows of Mr. Morris and enter into the house.

"(Signed) WILLIAM MURPHY."

Here follow the affidavits of several other persons generally corroborative of the foregoing. Major Hillier, the Military Secretary of the Governor, makes reply reviewing the magistrates' report, and intimating his considerable dissatisfaction and his intention to ask for a further investigation by the Assistant Adjutant-General of Militia:

"Stamford, 13th May, 1824.

"Sir—The Lieut.-Governor has given immediate consideration to the representation of the magistrates of the District of Bathurst, of the 6th inst., and in order that there may be as provable a ground for apprehending any permanent interruption of the peace of the District from the unfortunate occurrences which have recently taken place, His Excellency has yielded to the desire of the Magistrates so far as to order

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that a detachment of the military force stationed at Kingston shall be in readiness to march to Perth if a necessity should be found for their services, which His Excellency does not by any means anticipate.

"Indeed, as information has been received that the persons most active in the riots are in custody, His Excellency has every hope that tranquility has been before this time restored, and that the representations which he trusts the magistrates have lost no opportunity of making to the settlers from Ireland, as well as to any other inhabitants of the District who were concerned in the riots of the 23rd of April, of the folly and wickedness of such outrages have had their proper effect. His Excellency, however, cannot but fear that a considerable degree of irritation must necessarily have been caused by the circumstance which he very deeply laments, that one of the settlers has lost his life and others have been wounded by the party acting under the orders of the deputy sheriff. That this should have occurred in a District possessing so effective a population appears to the Lieutenant-Governor so extraordinary and unfortunate that he is most anxious for the report of the deputy sheriff which the magistrates have promised to transmit, by which His Excellency hopes he shall be enabled to discover clearly what necessity existed for a violence which has terminated so fatally.

"The Lieutenant-Governor earnestly desires to find that it has been constantly present to the recollection of all concerned in the execution of the laws in the District of Bathurst, that acts which may be justifiable and necessary in other countries and other circumstances may be wholly unnecessary and inexcusable in the midst of a population obedient to the laws and having abundant means to enforce them; that it is the duty of the civil officer to try all possible means before recourse is had to the assistance of an armed party whose appearance is certain to excite alarm and excitation, and that above all arms should not have been put into the hands of men who will not be most reluctant to use them and perfectly obedient to the control of the officer they were called upon to support. His Excellency further hopes the magistrates have been most careful to show their determination to investigate thoroughly every ground of complaint on either side, and to act with no other view than to secure all offenders against the public peace and prepare the way for the investigation which must follow in the Courts of Law, as it is for the juries of the Country

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and not for the peace officers in the first instance to determine how far the degree of provocation which has been given on either side can excuse the acts which have ensued. To ensure a fair and satisfactory investigation, His Excellency trusts that the magistrates, considering all within their jurisdiction as being equally subjects of the Province and entitled to the protection of the same laws, have deliberately examined into the allegations on both sides, that they have particularly directed their attention to the circumstances of the firing from the house upon the Irish settlers upon the 23rd of April, and endeavoured to ascertain who committed the act and secured them for trial, that the country may be enabled to express their judgment of an act which must be deemed felonious until a justification is proved of which a court and jury are necessarily to be the judges.

"The Lieut.-Governor takes it for granted that an inquest has been holden upon the body of the man shot by the deputy sheriff party, that all have been examined whose attendance could be procured without reference to the parties they belonged to, and the ordinary measures taken to ensure an investigation before the proper tribunal, because, setting aside the duty imposed by the law to observe these forms in all instances, it is evident that it can be only by showing the people who are accused by the magistrates, as being the cause of all these disorders, that the laws are executed without regard to them, precisely in the same manner as with respect to all others; that they can be made to feel secure in relying on those laws for protection. His Excellency has been the rather induced to impress this idea by observing that in the representation transmitted by the magistrates no importance whatever appears to be attached, and indeed no mention is made of the fact appearing in the depositions, that firearms were used by the other settlers against the Irish on the 23rd of April, to which circumstance it is very natural to suppose the subsequent appearance of the latter with arms and their more violent conduct is to be attributed, as no mention is made of the use of firearms by either party before the occurrence.

"The magistrates do not say, nor does it in any manner appear, that they had sent to apprehend Fummerton, the man said to have fired on the 23rd of April, nor taken any steps to ensure his trial upon the charge. If this was promptly done the settlers ought unquestionably to have remained

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satisfied and suffered the law to take its course, secure that the punishment would have fallen upon those who should be proven guilty. If this was not done, it is easy to imagine that the settlers may have imbibed an idea that they were all to be held, without discrimination, the guilty party in every outrage and that the laws were in force not for their protection but merely for their coercion. In either case, however, the subsequent outrages committed by the settlers are most unjustifiable, and His Excellency begs it may be impressed upon all of them that there can be no necessity nor excuse for their taking the law into their hands; that no prejudice exists against any of them except such as their acts as individuals may have excited and that from them and from all others in the District an entire obedience to the laws will be required and enforced. These admonitions, properly impressed, added to the apprehension of such as have been most active in the riots, the necessity of which should never be lost sight of, will, His Excellency has no doubt, restore the public peace; but if from an unaccountable infatuation on the part of those concerned all such reasonable efforts should fail to allay the disturbance, the inhabitants of the District may rest assured that measures will be promptly taken for their effectual protection.

“As the only information of which the Lieut.-Governor is in possession leads to the conclusion that the riots that ensued after the militia muster of the 23rd of April were the first demonstrations of any serious or general disturbance in that portion of the District, and probably may be considered as the prelude to all that followed, His Excellency deems it most important to ascertain in what manner an occurrence so unusual in this Province first originated among people assembled in obedience to the laws for the purpose of militia training and in the presence of their officers. The Lieut.-Governor has therefore directed the Assistant Adjutant-General of Militia to proceed immediately to the spot in order to discover by actual investigation, and report to the Government minutely, the circumstances of so extraordinary an outrage and the conduct of the officers and men who were present. For this purpose His Excellency desires that the magistrates, without any distinction of old or new settlers, and regarding all as equally bound to obey the laws and preserve the public peace, will assist the Assistant Adjutant-General in procuring the attendance of such persons engaged on either side in the

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riots of the 23rd April, as well as of indifferent spectators, if any such were present, as it may be most proper to examine with respect to their beginning and progress.

"I have the honour to be, Sir. etc.,

"G. HILLIER.

"To J. H. Powell, Esquire,
"Sheriff, Bathurst District."

Assistant Adjutant-General Fitzgibbon offers what he thinks is his impartial review:

"*Kingston*, 10 June, 1824.

"Sir—On receiving His Excellency's final instructions from you at this place on the 17th ultimo, I departed for Perth, where I arrived on the evening of the 18th, and immediately sent your despatch to the sheriff. On the 19th it was communicated to the magistrates of Perth and its vicinity, assembled in the District Court House. Several investigations have since been made by that body, and a report to His Excellency of the result is now preparing.

"Benjamin Delisle, Esquire, one of the magistrates, was nominated to accompany me into the new settlements, to take affidavits and in every other respect to assist me in the inquiry I was commanded to make. On the 20th I went to Lanark, and William Marshall, Esquire, another of the magistrates, was so good as to accompany me on the following day to the depot for the new settlers at Ramsay, and remained with me till the 24th, when he returned home. Mr. Delisle continued to accompany me during the 24th, 25th, 26th, 27th and 28th, when we returned to Perth.

"During my journey through the new settlements, affidavits of the following were taken, namely, Patrick Keoffe, Cornelius Roche, Bridget Roche, Bartholemew Murphy, James Hawkins, Daniel Ryan, and Alex. Morris, which I delivered to the magistrates in Perth, and copies of which I have the honour to transmit to you herewith. Copies of the affidavits taken by the magistrates in Perth, Mr. Morris informed me, he would transmit to you, and I therefore declined requesting leave to copy them.

"I have taken in writing the statements of Lieut.-Col. Fitzmaurice, Captains Glendinning and Nesbitt and Sergeant John Nowlan, of the 4th Regiment of Carleton Militia, which I also have the honour to transmit to you, and which, taken

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in connection with the affidavits of Alex. Morris and Daniel Ryan, will give a tolerably accurate view of the riots of the 23rd April.

"From the most comprehensive view which I have been able to take of the origin, progress and termination of the late disturbances in the District of Bathurst, the following facts appear to me to be established, namely:

"1st. That a feeling of jealousy was manifested by the old settlers immediately on the arrival of these under Mr. Robinson, because the latter received more of the bounty of Government than those settlers did. Mutual and increasing ill-will became soon apparent, and religious and party distinctions greatly increased the irritation.

"2nd. That the person placed in charge of the new settlers was a young man and was consequently without that respectability of character peculiar to maturity and experience; neither was he invested with any official authority in the District, nor had he power to withhold rations or any other allowance made to these settlers when he found them absent from their land or guilty of any offence against good order or the laws.

"3rd. That some of the officers of the 4th Regiment of Carleton Militia not only acted contrary to the law in giving spirituous liquor to some of the militia men on the King's Birthday, but manifested a great want of discretion under circumstances which should have made them most cautious on all occasions of public meeting; or an indifference to the evil consequences reasonably to be apprehended on such occasions. Of such culpable indifference I think all should be acquitted, except perhaps Captain Glendinning.

"4th. That a want of cordiality existed between a majority of the magistrates of Perth and its vicinity and the sheriff; and that in consequence proper preventive measures were not taken to ensure the execution of the law, with that forbearance and moderation which should ever be exercised by those armed with its powers.

"5th. That the illness of the sheriff rendered it impossible for him to accompany the armed force which he deemed absolutely necessary to send into the new settlements, to apprehend those against whom warrants had been issued; that he used strong arguments to induce some of the magistrates to go with and take charge of the party, but that they differed from him in the opinion that their aid was necessary, and they decided accordingly.

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"6th. That the selecting, organizing and arming of the party devolved on the deputy sheriff, who is a man of overbearing and insolent conduct, and an Orangeman, whose father, it is said, was murdered by Catholics in Ireland. All who spoke of the selection in my hearing described it as a very partial one, because too many Orangemen were chosen, and it appears from the evidence taken before me relative to the transactions of the 2nd of May, that no man of the deputy sheriff's party used violence on that day who was not an Orangeman.

"7th. That no magistrate appears to have entertained any fear of resistance on one side or of misconduct on the other, till the morning of the first of May, when Mr. Morris, the presiding magistrate, saw the deputy sheriff arming the party from the public store near his house. He then wished that a magistrate should accompany his party, and at that moment, seeing Col. Marshall from Lanark, he begged of him to go with it. Col. Marshall readily complied, and Mr. Thom, another magistrate, approaching, was induced to accompany Col. Marshall. Subsequently Mr. Graham was added, and the three proceeded after the deputy sheriff and his party, who had already departed. Why these gentlemen did not take under their control the deputy sheriff and his party, the report of the magistrates will perhaps best explain. Col. Marshall, who had not been present at the conferences of the magistrates and the sheriff on the preceding days, appeared to be least impressed with an idea of the necessity of taking any precautionary measure, and he told me that his principal object in going to Ramsay was to take informations of some of the people he had located in that township against some of Mr. Robinson's settlers.

"It is the fact that the magistrates did not exercise any authority over the deputy sheriff's party until the firing took place at the depot, and it appears clearly that the deputy sheriff did not consider himself liable to be controlled by them; for when, at a distance from the depot, the magistrates advised him not to approach it till eleven o'clock, when it was the Catholic priest would celebrate mass, and that then the greatest number would be assembled, he disregarded the advice, and, as if to show his independence of their authority, he waved his arm and called aloud 'come on men.' On coming within about a quarter of a mile of the depot, a road, or rather pathway, branched off to the right, which led to a log building about two

The Ballyghibblins

hundred yards from the buildings of the depot, in which one of the new settlers lived, and worked as a blacksmith for them. The deputy sheriff detached a number of his men to surround this building, but it does not appear that he gave them in charge of any particular person. He with the remainder of his party proceeded to the depot, and on arriving at the brow of the descent which leads down to the flat on which the log huts for the accommodation of the settlers are built, ordered his men to advance 'double quick,' when they ran down, surrounding the small square. At this moment the men in the square, hearing the word of command and seeing the armed men running towards them, they fled to the river, when the deputy sheriff's party fired after them, and at the same instant called to them to stop. All this was done so quickly that it is probable all the arms were discharged before the firing ceased, when Col. Marshal used every possible exertion to prevent it, reproaching the deputy sheriff's men in the strongest terms. Almost at the same instant the party sent to surround Roache's house fired at it as they approached, and into it in rear, and through the window in the front, as stated in the affidavits of Roche, his wife and Keefe.

"I am fully convinced that no shot was fired from within, and that the pistol found in the house was neither loaded nor had even a flint in it at that time; and that until the firing commenced the people within had no idea of the approach of danger in any shape, and therefore were not prepared for resistance had they wished to make any; but it is very probable that the men who fired in between the logs of the back wall sent some of their balls through the window in the front, and made those in front believe and swear that they were fired at from within.

"I am confirmed in this opinion beyond doubt by finding that two balls were cut out of the inside of the logs of the front wall, near the window, which must have been shot in through the rear wall; and on examining the outside of an opening in it (the rear wall), I found the logs blackened all round, evidently by the powder and flashes from the guns; and the ends of the ragged splinters of the bark all round were singed and the ashes yet plainly visible on them, on the 26th May, when I examined the house. I have no doubt but that the deputy sheriff's men put a flint into the pistol found in Roche's house, that it might appear that it could have been fired from, and they did not exhibit it to the magistrates and show to

them that it had been fired from, although Mr. Baines a short time after put his finger into the muzzle of it and seeing it come out clean, he exclaimed 'Pistol has not been discharged this day.' When those having charge of it contented themselves with saying that twelve or fourteen persons had already put their fingers into it; yet after this they took no step to prove by exhibiting the pan and cock that it had actually been fired from. After my return to Perth I requested of the magistrates to have this pistol produced that I might even then examine it, when they sent a messenger from the Court House for it, who soon returned and on delivering it he said it had been fired out of, that very morning. Thus all means of forming an opinion on its appearance were destroyed; and I could only discover that the pistol wanted bushing, as stated in Roche's affidavit. These particulars, with others too minute in detail, have fully convinced me that no resistance whatever was made or offered by the people in Roche's house, and that the conduct of the men who attacked it was like that of the rest of the party, who went to the depot, a wanton and outrageous attack upon the lives of the new settlers. The deputy sheriff's party on the next morning tore the roof off the building occupied by Roche, the blacksmith, and damaged it in every other way except pulling down the log walls.

"After having considered what might be urged in extenuation of the misconduct of the deputy sheriff's party, I have thought it very possible that when the deputy sheriff gave the order to advance double quick one thoughtless or wicked man discharging his gun might have been the cause of others instantly firing also. But for the cruel conduct of the men who attacked Roche's house, in beating and wounding the people they found there, I can find no apology whatever.

"Throughout the inquiry of all that happened on that day, I watched carefully to see if any English or Scotchman of the deputy sheriff's party had committed any violence upon the new settlers, and it is with great satisfaction I report to you that not a single instance of such has happened throughout the whole enquiry. All the deeds of violence have appeared in every instance to have been committed by Orangemen.

"I forbear making any observations on the decisions of the magistrates in not committing for trial the deputy sheriff, James Morris, John Hughes and Thomas McAdam. The first named is not bound to answer to any complaint. James Morris is bound to appear at the assizes, and James Hughes

and Thomas McAdam are bound to appear at the Quarter Sessions. I did urge the magistrates to bind Hughes and McAdam to appear at the Assizes, but I was answered that if the Crown officer at the Assizes saw cause for putting them on their trial he could then do so.

"John Fummerton had not been brought into Perth before my departure from it, although he had been sent for. No doubt was entertained by the magistrates of his being forthcoming for trial at the Assizes, he having some time before offered himself at Perth to answer to any complaint against him. I expressed my opinion to the magistrates that this man ought to have been committed for a felony, but they answered that no one complained against him, although one of them advised Leahy, who was wounded by Fummerton, to complain before them, and they would act upon his complaint; but Leahy would not proceed against Fummerton because, as he said, he considered Glendinning more to blame, and he would prosecute him at civil law. The magistrates now intend to proceed against Fummerton upon the affidavits of Alexander Morris and Daniel Ryan.

"With respect to the riotous and disorderly conduct of the new settlers previous to the 2nd of May, I declined making any formal inquiry because affidavits of all complained of had already been taken by the magistrates, and I was informed by Mr. Morris that copies of these affidavits would be sent to you.

"I have the honour to be, etc.,

"JAMES FITZGIBBON.

"To Major Hillier, etc., etc."

The Quarter Sessions sat at Perth during the first week of June, presided over by Wm. Morris, Anthony Delisle, Anthony Leslie, C. Bell, Alex. McMillan, Josias Taylor, John Alston, R. Matheson, John F. Elliott and John Watson, constituting the Bench of Magistrates. During the trials a threatening and intimidating letter from one of the prisoners was handed by the gaoler to the Bench; but it met with the reception it deserved, the magistrates ordering the bearer of it from the prisoner to the gaoler, into solitary confinement.

The record of convictions is interesting:

"Queen vs. Thomas McAdam and John Hughes—for assault on Pat O'Keefe. True bill.

"Witnesses: P. O'Keefe, Peter McGregor, Alex. Matheson, Bridget Roch, John Ledgerwood.

"Verdict—not guilty.

"Queen vs. Luke McGrath and James Brown—for assault. True bill.

"Brown pleaded guilty.

"(McGrath's case traversed to next sessions).

"Verdict—fine of eight shillings and costs.

"Queen vs. William Roach, Hanover Cusack—Assault on Dan Shipman.

"Roach pleaded guilty.

"Verdict—fine of eight shillings and costs.

"Cusack—not guilty.

"Witnesses: Dan Shipman, Prudence Shipman, Ann Dickson, William Roach, William Fitzgerald.

"Queen vs. Fitzgerald—assault.

"Witnesses: Thomas McFarlane, Luke McGrath, James McGrath, William Lahee, Thomas Barnes.

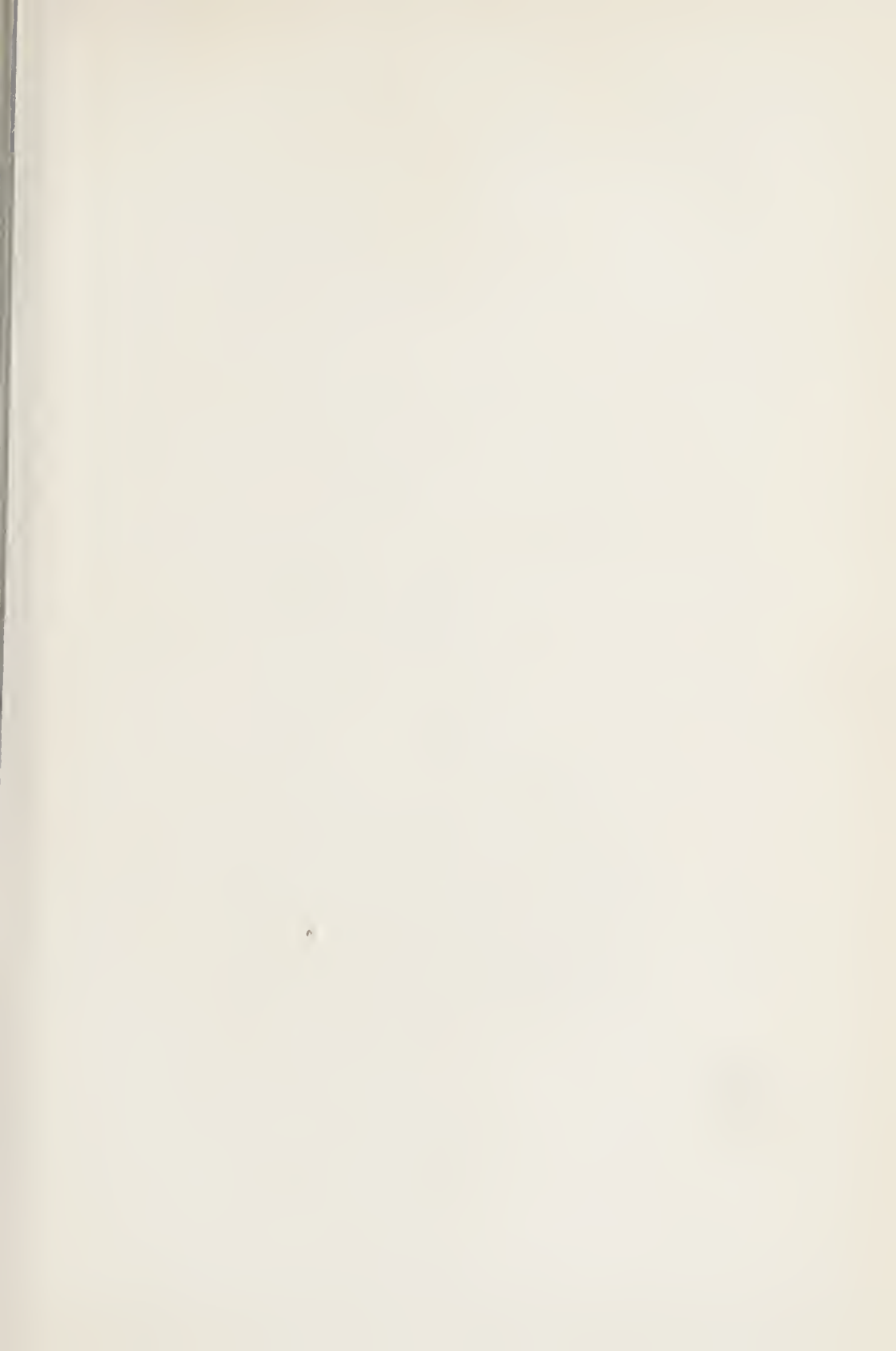
"Verdict—not guilty."¹⁷

In the beginning of September the Honourable Mr. Justice Campbell presided over the Court at Perth, concluding the trials of those offenders in the spring before, whose cases yet remained to be dealt with. In addressing the Grand Jury His Lordship expressed amazement over the rapid progress of the settlements in a few short years from the condition of "a solitary and dreary wilderness." The burden of his charge had reference to the calendar presented, showing a number of persons "accused of riotous and outrageous conduct." Not only did the Judge indicate the expectation that settlers for whom much had been done should be loyal and law-abiding, but also that peace-officers in the execution of their duty should not exceed or abuse their powers, for such also renders these as well subject to indictment.

The final record of the Court indicates the conclusion of the story:

"Bartholomey Murphey, John French, Patrick Sullivan and John Cocklin, convicted of riot. Fined £10 each and two months imprisonment.

"James Richey and John McGinnis, for the malicious shooting at Bartholomey Murphy. Acquitted.





JAMES FITZGIBBONS

"John Leachy, indicted for perjury. Traversed to next Assizes and found bail.

"Daniel Ryan, also indicted for perjury. Absconded, or did not appear.

"Thomas Glendinning and John Fummerton, for maliciously shooting. Acquitted.¹⁸

The Assistant Adjutant-General was himself a native of the south of Ireland, the son of a poor, but scholarly, father. One of his nephews became a Lord Justice of Ireland. James Fitzgibbon came to Canada as a sergeant of the 49th Regiment—"the favourite sergeant" of the Commander, Colonel Brock, known in our history as Sir Isaac Brock, the hero of Upper Canada. Fitzgibbon rose in the service and won honours in the War of 1812, having become a colonel of the Glengarry Fencible Regiment, and in 1822 was appointed Assistant Adjutant-General of Upper Canada. This is not the place to continue this officer's career. The reference is made rather for the purpose of presenting, even at the risk of elaboration, one further view of the Irish settlement on the Mississippi, and Colonel Fitzgibbon's visit there. The account comes from the pen of his grand-daughter, Mary Agnes Fitzgibbon, who writes his biography under the title of "A Veteran of 1812." The account she gives of her grandfather's visit to the Irish settlers is really a remarkable romance, in many respects as far distant from the actual facts as any relation could possibly be. As a sort of historical curiosity, the greater part of it is here transcribed:

"A number of Irish families from the poorest districts in their own land—well-nigh 'wild Irish'—the majority ignorant of any language but their own native Celtic, had been sent out under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada, and had been settled on land in the county of Lanark, where many of them were employed in the construction of the Rideau Canal, not far from the town of Perth.

"Unused to the ways of the country, and coming out, as many do still, with extravagant expectations of fortunes to be made, without the trouble of earning them, and with exaggerated ideas of the privileges and freedom of the New World and absence of the controlling arm of the law—this, with the national animosity of Roman Catholics and Protestants among them, resulted in disturbances and threatened riot.

"Alarmed at the aspect of affairs, the magistrates of Perth applied to Sir Peregrine Maitland for a detachment of troops to be sent thither. Before complying with this request the Governor sent for Fitzgibbon, with the result that he begged to be allowed to go alone to the District, report upon the condition of affairs, and endeavour to settle the difficulty before calling out the military.

"Confident in his knowledge of and influence over his countrymen, Fitzgibbon repaired to the scene. He made enquiries and investigated the causes of the disturbance, and reiterated his determination not to resort to arms until all other means had failed. He assured the magistrates that the mere appearance of the military would but serve as a match to kindle the flame, and insisted that not a shot should be fired until he had at least spoken to the belligerents.

"Arriving at the spot he jumped down into a cutting, where gangs of these 'wild Irish' had struck work and were assembled, one faction headed by a big broad-shouldered giant, ready for a free fight and broken heads.

"Facing them boldly, Fitzgibbon poured forth a volley in their own language, the native Irish, and before the magistrates realized what he was attempting, the mob had paused to listen, and when he ceased, both sides cheered him to the echo. He then went among them, made friends of them, explained away misunderstandings, which their ignorance of the country and of English had originated; expostulated with them upon the folly of thinking that any country could be governed, or order, peace or safety to themselves or their property ensured, without the law being enforced and magistrates obeyed, and ended by standing sponsor for them with the authorities for their future good behaviour."

It is sufficient to say that the construction of the Rideau Canal was not even begun until three and one-half years after the "Riot" occurred, and at Bytown, some forty miles distant from Shipman's Mills; and if Fitzgibbon, as is stated, "jumped down into a cutting" to quell these poor Irish disturbers, he, too, in the sporting world, at least, ought to be counted as possessing an athletic prowess rivalling Hercules, the wonder of gods and of men.

In May, 1826, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada made to Earl Bathurst a return received from Peter Robinson,

The Ballyghiblins

“showing the actual state of the settlement formed under his direction up to the 14th March of this year.” A general summary only can be given:

Township.	No. of Souls.	Births.	Deaths.	Acres cleared.	Bush. of grain.	Bush. of potatoes.	Bush. of turnips.	Cattle.	Hogs.
Ramsay.....	251	31	11	430½	3318	13130	7950	161	138
Huntley.....	79	15	7	116½	469	3832	1430	43	17
Goulbourn	59	2	—	96	492	2307	829	39	27
Pakenham.....	56	10	2	91	195	1100	486	36	5
Beckwith.....	18	1	—	26	192	600	150	7	2
Lanark.....	6	2	—	10	60	100	200	5	6
Bathurst.....	8	2	—	8	100	400	170	7	6

Total.....	477	63	20	778	4826	21469	11145	298	201
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Total number of Irish emigrants located in the District of Bathurst, in 1823, under the superintendence of Peter Robinson, Esquire—heads of families.....

182¹⁹

Present state of settlement:

Heads of families now living on their lands..... 120

Locations vacated by deaths..... 8

“ “ absent without leave, but supposed to be in Canada..... 12

“ “ gone to United States..... 9

“ “ absent, but at work in Canada... 32

“ “ absent, returned to Ireland..... 1

182	182
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Opinions of their new life, their possessions and progress were taken from many of the settlers by Colonel Francis Cockburn in 1827. They are invariably happy and cheerful and will suffer repetition here. They are all taken on the 6th July, 1827, and from among those who finally located in the township of Ramsay:²⁰

“I came to this country in 1823, from Ireland, under the charge of Mr. Robinson, and received rations for one year. I have now, with the exertions of myself and son, cleared upwards of twenty acres of land and have a yoke of steers, five milk cows, two yearlings, besides pigs, poultry, etc., and I consider my lot and crop worth at best £200. Add to this, I am happy and contented.

“MICHAEL CORKERY.”

"I came to this country with Mr. Robinson, and have now about twenty acres cleared, a yoke of steers, one cow, three calves, pigs, poultry, etc. I did not receive rations. I am well contented with my lot, and consider it worth £100.

"JAMES ^{his} x ^{mark} SHEIL,"

"I came to this country from Ireland with Mr. Robinson, and received rations for one year. I have now seven acres cleared, a yoke of steers, a cow and a calf. I certainly think that an industrious man may repay to Government the expense attending his location, if they do not require it to be paid sooner than five years, and then by installments in produce at £5 per year. I do consider my farm worth now £80.

"CORNELIUS ^{his} x ^{mark} RYAN,"

The township of Huntley had already become the home of a number of Irish Catholic families, some of them coming from the Richmond settlement. As has already been seen, Robinson's emigrants added considerably to their numbers and, attracted by the stories of new homes and of a new freedom, many additional settlers came into the western side of the township. Through the efforts also of Peter Robinson, lot number fifteen, in the 8th Concession, was set aside for a church, since as Irishmen, they longed for "the ministrations of our Holy Religion." In August, 1845, the Crown issued to the Roman Catholic Diocese of Kingston a patent for the land. Eventually the Church retained the west half of the lot, selling the east half to John Casey. It was not until 1837 that St. Michael's was first built, as a structure of logs 30 feet by 20. From the beginning of the settlement occasional visits were made by Father MacNamara, from Montreal, and later by Father Heron and Father Cullen, of Bytown. The parish was under the jurisdiction of the priest at Richmond.

In Ramsay the Irish settlers were more scattered. No church was erected here until 1842, in the Village of Ramsayville, or Almonte as it is to-day, and on land presented by Daniel Shipman, a Methodist and an Orangeman. Services in these earlier years were held at stations in different places, but chiefly at the pioneer homes of David Dowling, Timothy

The Ballyghiblins

O'Brien, Patrick Corkery, and William Slattery, who has been referred to by various chronicles as the "tried, trusty and true friend of the Church," passing to his reward in April, 1885, three of whom at least were of the Robinson emigration. A few months before these settlers came, the Rev. Father John MacDonald, coming from Perth, had, on the 24th of July, celebrated the first mass in the township, in a log cabin on lot thirteen in the second concession. There was no resident priest for many years. It is interesting to note that on the eleventh day of December, 1923, Pontifical High Mass was celebrated by His Grace Archbishop Emard, of Ottawa, in St. Mary's Church, at Almonte, the centenary of the establishment of Roman Catholic missions in and around the hamlet of Shipman's Mills. And on the 28th, 29th and 30th of September previously there was also carried out "the glorious centennial celebration" of St. Michael's parish in the township of Huntley.

Peter Robinson had faith in his Irish settlers. The years have justified this faith, for among leading clerics in many parts, among professional and public men in Canada and elsewhere, among good citizens in these localities and all over the land, are to be found the respected and honoured descendants of those who came to Shipman's Mills so long ago as the poor and lowly "Ballyghiblins."

VI

AN OLD LIBRARY

THE PIONEERS of Dalhousie belong to the emigrations of 1820 and 1821. They had their origin in the efforts of those Emigration Societies so generally formed to alleviate the want and distress prevailing in these and in the preceding years in Glasgow and its environs, and as well the neighbouring towns and parishes.

Alexander Young, a Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh, and who appears to have had something to do with the arrangements of the British Government in respect to the emigrants' movements, addressed himself to the Rev. Charles Stewart at Montreal, who had taken an active and sympathetic interest in the coming settlers.

Mr. Young's letter reads in this way:

"Edinburgh, June 20th, 1820.

"To the Hon. and Rev. Charles Stewart,
Montreal, Que.:

"My dear Sir—It will not be unknown to you that a most extensive emigration is now taking place from the west of Scotland, and I have just now been giving some assistance to Thomas Scott, the President of a Society from Lesmahago, and William Granger, the President of another Society from Anderston and Rutherglen, in getting a modification of the quantities of provisions which the Board of Customs require them to lay in for their voyage. These two bodies are going to Upper Canada, where they have got grants of land about 140 miles above Montreal, and as these Societies have been favourably presented to me by the Duke of Hamilton, I have advised them, as they are very numerous, to keep together as much as possible, to preserve their connection with the friends they have left behind them in this country, and to be very careful to send home correct accounts of their station and future prospects. Recollecting also that the country they are going to is one which has been much benefitted by your unwearied labours in the cause of religion and humanity,

I take the liberty of addressing this letter in their behalf to you, to whom I believe no distressed or friendless Scotsman ever made fruitless application, and entrust it to the above-mentioned Thomas Scott, being well assured that if Providence should cast their lot in that part of Canada where they may have occasion to wait upon you and ask your good advice and assistance, they will not do so in vain.

"I remain, with great respect,

"Your most obedient and faithful, humble servant,

"ALEX. YOUNG."¹

Ten days earlier, Lord Bathurst, as Secretary of State for the Colonies, had written to the "Officer Administering the Government of Canada," transmitting various lists of families, who had provided themselves with a passage to Canada and were now ready to proceed thither under the direction of the various persons named in the official correspondence.

The Hon. and Rev. Charles Stewart was the fifth son of the Earl of Galloway, consecrated as the second Anglican Bishop of Quebec in 1826. The daughter of Bishop Mountain, writing of him in 1807, made reference especially to his missionary zeal,

"So unusual an undertaking in a man of family independence, could not by the world in general be attributed to any but an enthusiast and a Methodist."²

This Anglican missionary was truly an apostle of the woods and was justly designated "the Apostle of the Eastern Townships," where, in 1809, some seventy miles south-east of Montreal, at his own expense he completed the erection of "the first place of worship in this whole region of country."

Nothing remains to show what spiritual or other comfort the Rev. Charles Stewart offered to the emigrants upon their arrival in Canada. It was hardly to be expected that Radicals and Presbyterians would have any religious affiliation with an Anglican missionary. But the bond of race is nearly always stronger than the bond of faith, and as Scotsmen the kinship of blood was never to be forgotten. The pioneers of Dalhousie scrupled not to ask in a few years some easily granted favours from the Bishop of Quebec and their requests met with a ready and a most willing response.

Coming to the military post at Lanark, and seeking from Colonel William Marshall, the Government Superintendent there, such information as that genial and kindly officer could give about their possible locations in the wilderness, many of the settlers sought out their future farms along the distant concession lines of the township, which in the preparation for survey had been named after the ninth Earl of Dalhousie.

A glimpse of the early life, while yet these homeseekers had experienced but a year or two of the conditions and events that attended upon their efforts at establishment in the backwoods of Upper Canada, may be of interest here.

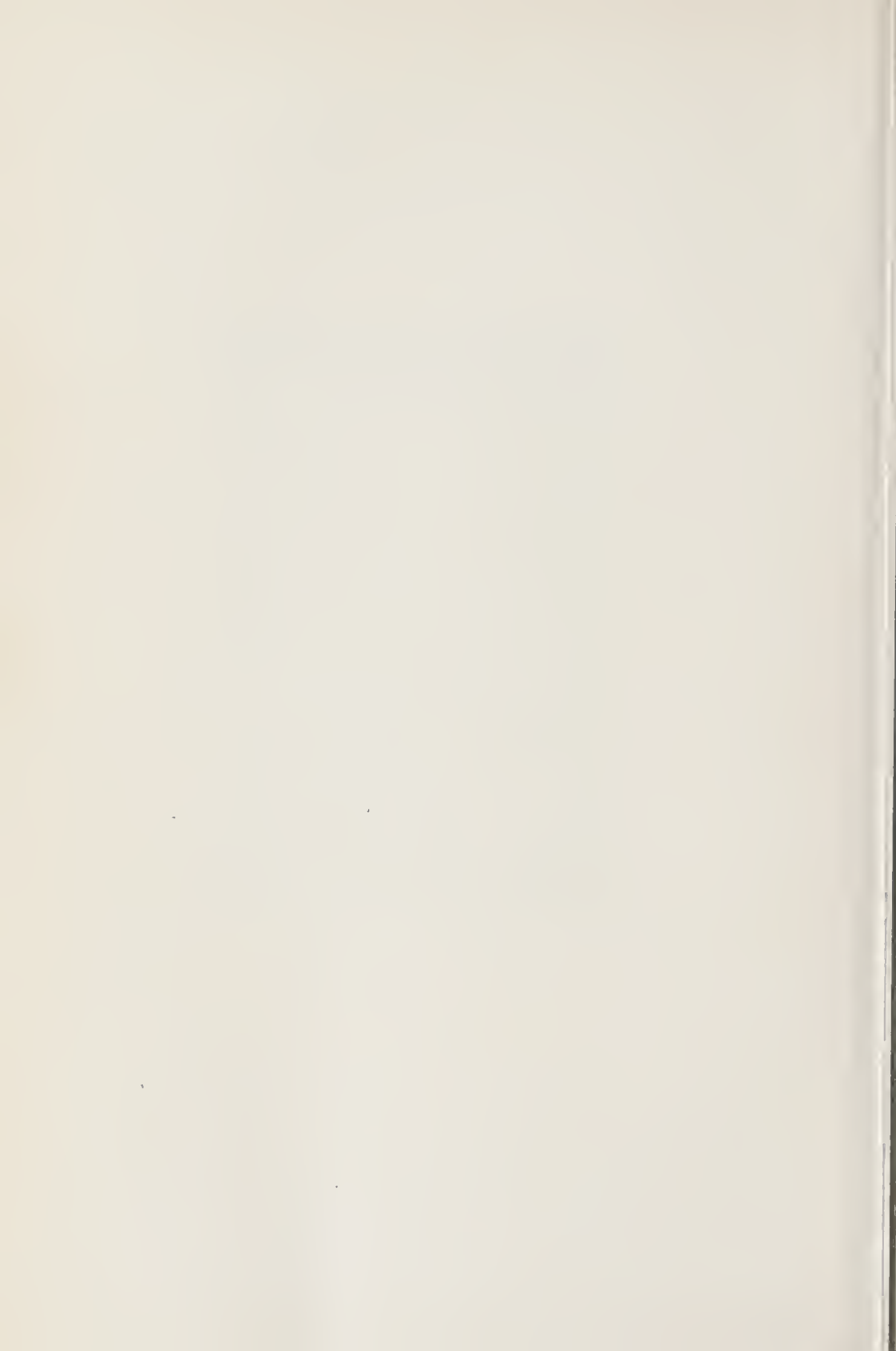
In the emigration of 1820, John McLellan, a native of Cambuslang, entered as a labourer in the lists of the Trans-Atlantic Bridgeton Society, under the leadership of John McLachlan, sailed for Canada in the *Commerce* with his Glasgow wife and four children, finally reaching the township of Dalhousie in the autumn of that year. Nearly forty years later, when the hard and unceasing labour of many toilsome years had brought such a competence as to afford rest and retirement at Perth, Mrs. McLellan has given, in a recorded interview, a few experiences typical of the general life among these settlements in the days of their beginnings. In 1823, the Oswego Canal, in the State of New York, was under construction. Thither went some of the Dalhousie settlers, hoping to supplement the narrow return their rocky and miserable hillside farms as yet so grudgingly gave, for in the earlier years the richer and more fertile hollows, undrained and heavily wooded, remained for a later and more satisfying development. Among others went John McLellan, from lot number seven in the first concession of Dalhousie, leaving behind him there his wife and four children, the eldest of whom was a little boy nine years old.

"As soon as the gude man went away," said Mrs. McLellan, "I took heart and with the boy began to dig between the stumps and plant potatoes, When the fall of the year came and we had gathered them in, how many do you think we had? No less than 350 bushels of potatoes, and thirty bushels of corn raised by myself and my little boy. Oh! it was a faithful piece of land. When we had cleared it all, save what was



THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE
Governor-General of Canada, 1819-1828

By Courtesy of Dominion Archives



reserved for firewood, we maintained eleven sons and two daughters, and now one daughter has fourteen children. We put most of them to learn trades and saved something for-by. It was really to my sorrow we parted with the land. I had my dining-room and parlour, and lovely garden and orchard, and the beautiful fields always so faithful in their crops, no matter what we put in them! My heart is in that land yet. It was drawn by another Glasgow man at the office in Perth in 1820, but when he saw it, he came back and renounced it. My gude man liked it as well as any he had seen and took me to it and the children. I walked on foot through the thick bushes, crossing two rivers on rafts, and carrying one child in my arms and a stone of meal on my back. Before it began to repay our labour we had hardly a rag left on our backs and nothing on our feet. The children were naked entirely."³

Slowly, but surely, however, the settlers of Dalhousie began to make their way. Clearings were the order of the successive seasons. Chopping down the bush in winter and burning off the logs and "slash" in summer, made the daily round. The ashes of the hardwood trees produced the welcome potash—the only article which could be sold for ready money. The want of early mills was a hardship. There were two or three at least in the first few years—Ferguson's, at Lanark, which could be reached by those who settled on the eastern side of the township; those in the centre went to Playfair's. Reference has already been made to the location of the famous 104th Regiment in the north and west of the township of Drummond and the north-easterly corner of Bathurst, near the Dalhousie boundary. Here Lieutenant-Colonel Playfair, the best known officer of that Regiment after its disbanding, set up a mill at Playfair's Rapids in Bathurst, on the Mississippi. His was the first mill to have burr stones; otherwise masons cut out rock stones which first were used. This old military man offers in his own way some interesting incidents, more particularly with reference to the coarse political life in the District of Bathurst. Robert Currie had the first mill at the head of Dalhousie Lake, on the Mississippi, and earlier indeed at Hopetown, where he appears to have operated within seven or eight years of the founding of the settlement.

Mill day was celebrated as a sort of holiday. The boys and girls set off through the bush to Playfair's or to Bolton's Mill, a little farther south. Some of these mills had water wheels, but no gears. The customers simply had to bolt the flour and turn the mill themselves, and sometimes bring home the mixture and sieve it there to get the finer and whiter quality.

There were neither schools nor churches. Lanark offered the nearest opportunity for religious services, and, as best they could, these old Scots settlers, their wives and grown-up children, as occasion offered, might be seen in summer walking barefoot along the rough, uneven trails to hear again, as in the old land, an exposition of the faiths of their fathers by the Rev. William Bell, or Dr. Gemmill, or perhaps by some itinerant missionary. Watson's Corners gradually became a kind of centre for the east and north, as McDonald's Corners filled a like demand for the south and west of the township, and by the Highland line. By 1830 and later Watson's was familiarly known as Granny Cumming's Corner, so named after the first settler. It continued to be memorable as the site of the first encampment of the incoming settlers, where all in the dense bush, on brush or blankets, or in rudely improvised wigwams of evergreen branches, the first night was spent in the promised land. And as the years went by this village of Watson's Corners, which to-day consists only of a wayside store and a handful of houses, could boast of a fairly commodious hotel, a carpenter shop, two blacksmith's shops, merchants' stores, and generally flourishing community—more flourishing still when the lumber trade was at its height. And there was often the longing for social intercourse and visiting. The older people always visited in companies, taking along something to eat by the way, or at their destination, for the expected host or hostess might not always be ready to satisfy a group of hungry visitors. A favourite meeting place was at "old Jim Ross's, where his wife Lily would boil the kettle and make the tea, read the Bible and sing Gaelic songs, even into "the wee sma' hours ayont the twal."⁴

The modes of transportation were rude and slow. "Jumpers" and "stone-boats," made alike from the wood that grew

so abundantly everywhere, and drawn by one or a pair of patient oxen, became the general purpose and vehicles throughout the settlement. A four-wheeled "buggy," when first introduced, excited almost as much interest and curiosity as an airplane in our own day. A distillery completes the picture, for life in the clearings, especially among Scotsmen of that day, was never complete without "a wee drappie," to keep out the cold in winter and to ward off the excessive heat in the summer. The logging bee, the barn raising, the reaping match, the gathering at the tavern, the festive holiday—all these, and many less distinctive occasions, were garnished by the jar and the "grog boss." Moreover, the distillery was an early industry, that offered employment on occasions to the neighbouring farmers and was one of the few early institutions that offered a constant demand for grain and produce, markets for which were few and far between in the early days.

Although the village of Lanark was at the outset the community centre of the establishments formed out of the emigrations of 1820 and 1821, the homestead locations spread throughout the townships of North and South Sherbrooke, Lanark, Ramsay, and Dalhousie. Many of the settlers, who in the old land had been numbered among the tenantry of George Ramsay, carried to the backwoods of Canada friendly and sympathetic recollections of that distinguished nobleman, whose family name became the designation for the township of Ramsay, and whose title rendered a similar service for the township of Dalhousie.

This nobleman, the schoolmate and friend of Sir Walter Scott, had entered the army at an early age. From 1812 to 1814 he commanded the 7th Division of the British Army in France and Spain. Parliament thanked him for his services at Waterloo, and he was raised to the peerage of the United Kingdom as Baron Ramsay. His colonial life began as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, a post which he held for four years, ending with the beginning of the Lanark emigration in 1820. Just before leaving the Maritime Province he had laid the corner-stone of the college at Halifax, which to-day continues to bear his name. From 1820 to the closing months of 1828, Lord Dalhousie was the Governor-General

of the Canadas. This illustrious patron of the arts had in many ways shown his deep and abiding interest in the intellectual advancement of the people. He founded a library for the officers of the Quebec garrison and presented it with portraits of the third King George and his Queen; and these still adorn the Provincial Building in that oldest of Canadian cities. The earl was also the patron of the Quebec Library and Historical Society, "and his zeal for the reconciliation of the French and English races found a graceful expression in his activity in securing funds for the erection of a monument to Wolfe and Montcalm."

But, like most of the early Governors whose training had been that of the military camp and in arms against Napoleon, Dalhousie lived in the days before Responsible Government had begun to achieve its triumphs of thirty years later, and French Canada, with an abiding respect for Lord Dalhousie, will still continue to think that this undoubtedly able and distinguished Englishman might have overcome some of the racial difference and bitternesses by adopting at times a freer attitude of compromise and conciliation.

[Many of the first settlers were Free Masons. Most of them brought with them to Canada what books they had, or what their meagre purses could procure.] As time went on many a wish was expressed for a common meeting place and a place as well for social gatherings, with the idea of a library also. And there was not wanting those who had in mind a cellar too for liquors and provisions, where "St. Andrew's nicht" might be celebrated in true old-time style.

The emigrants of the Lesmahagow Society, under the leadership of Thomas Scott, perhaps more than any other of the groups, maintained far into the later years their ardent Scottish spirit. Thomas Scott, his wife and seven children, settled on the rear part of lot number twelve, in the fourth concession of Dalhousie. [His following, soon after the settlement began, adopted the name of St. Andrew's Society. As the feeling yearly grew stronger for the accomplishment of a common meeting place, and, when means could be found, for the furnishing and equipment of a building, St. Andrew's Hall and the Dalhousie Library came into being.

The records of the Dalhousie Library have vanished nearly as completely as the library building itself, and only here and there can be found an old print, a stray letter of a mouse-eaten list of books or borrowers, from which one may, with patience and a fair degree of accuracy, gather something of its early and fragmentary story.

In the spring of 1828, a few months before the Governorship of Lord Dalhousie was drawing to a close, the settlers sent to him a petition asking his help and patronage. Before committing himself to the project, the earl referred the business to Colonel Marshall, the Superintendent at Lanark, whose advice was friendly and informing. He was of the opinion that the library would be well managed and prove a useful institution. The Governor had evidently thought that the people in the two townships of Ramsay and Dalhousie should join in the project, forgetting that this was impossible, for Lanark township lay between.

On the 18th of July Colonel Marshall wrote to the Governor, enclosing a letter from Charles Baillie at Dalhousie, dated three days earlier, expressing the thanks and pleasure of the people over his lordship's recognition, and transmitting also a copy of the regulations to be adopted in the management of the undertaking:⁵

"Sir—In pursuance of the desire of the Directors of the proposed Dalhousie Public Library, I have to inform you that they received with grateful feelings His Excellency the Earl of Dalhousie's answer to their petition, and the Committee respectfully request that you would return their unfeigned acknowledgment to his lordship for his condescension in proffering to patronize and assist the institution, and that they still even retain the idea that His Lordship is actuated by parental regard when he proposes that the townships of Dalhousie and Ramsay should make a joint stock in such an arrangement, to which they would most readily agree were it practicable, as their earnest desire is to promote useful knowledge amongst their friends and countrymen. But as his lordship has referred the whole matter to you, please inform him of the impracticability of Dalhousie folks and their brethern in Ramsay joining for such an institution. And as his lordship appears to doubt

whether or not the settlement be ready for a thing of the kind, the Committee likewise hope that you can satisfy him on that point.

✓ ✓ ✓
“The people are convinced of its prosperity and utility, as they conceive that it will tend to encourage learning amongst the young, excite emulation and promote the general good of the community.” With respect to your own fears for a proper place to keep the library, and of the books being spoiled when lent out, owing to a number of the houses not being properly furnished, I have to inform you that it will be kept in a well-furnished schoolhouse, near the centre of our population, and regulations with respect to keeping them clean, etc., will be strictly enforced. The Committee heartily return thanks for the attention you have already paid to their interest, and request that you would explain matters to His Excellency as soon as possible.

“P.S.—I herewith send you a copy of the Regulations. The blanks are to be filled up at a general meeting to be held on the 26th instant.

“CHAS. BAILLIE.”

“At a meeting held in the schoolhouse No. 12, third concession of the township of Dalhousie, April 1st, 1828, Mr. Thomas Scott in the chair, it was Resolved to establish and keep up in all time coming a public library in this township, which shall be open to all who are inclined to take the benefits of it, on paying the sums agreed on and other ways acting (*sic*) to the following:

“REGULATIONS.

“1. Each subscriber of.....shillings shall be a member, which, with the annual payment of.....shillings, must be paid on or before the first Saturday of....., for the use of the Library.

“2. The donor of.....pounds shall be a member and exempted from annual payments.

“3. The business of the Library shall be conducted by a Committee of twelve or more (four of which shall be a quorum). They, with a president and secretary, to be chosen at the annual meeting which shall be held in the schoolhouse No. 12, third concession, Dalhousie, on the first Saturday in March, to audit accounts, to prepare a list of books from which the Committee are to make the purchases of the following year, and to enact such regulations as may appear necessary.

"4. Every controversy shall be determined by a plurality of voices, the president being allowed to vote as a member, and in case of an equality, again as President.

"5. Till such time as the Library shall attain a sufficient number of books, a quorum of the Committee shall attend on the first Saturday of every month, at one o'clock p.m., and give out to the members in rotation such a number or volume as may from time to time be agreed on by said quorum, which are not to be kept for more than four weeks.

"6. The Secretary shall keep a cash book, a minute book, and a journal of the books lent out, and the condition they were in when returned, if damaged.

"7. Subscribers losing or injuring a volume shall either replace it to the satisfaction of the Committee, or pay the price of the book.

"8. Subscribers are not to keep a volume beyond the time prescribed in article 5th, under the penalty of one shilling for every month longer kept.

"9. Subscribers are not to lend the books of the library to non-subscribers, under the penalty of five shillings for each such offence.

"10. The individual share of members can on no account be withdrawn, but may descend to his heir, or be transferred to another, provided the new member be approved of by a majority of the Committee.

"11. No member of the Committee to be absent either from a general or trustee meeting, under the penalty of sixpence for each offence.

"12. No subscriber shall be entitled to any of the privileges of the library, until he has paid his fines and annual contribution, unless he be from home at work; then he shall be allowed months.

"13. No alteration or amendment shall be made to these Rules and Regulations, except at a general meeting."

Lord Dalhousie's reply, directed to Colonel Marshall (who, by the way, he addresses as "Thomas," instead of the correct name, "William"), was likely, as indeed it did, to bring much satisfaction to the Library pioneers.

"Quebec, Aug. 14, 1828.

"My dear Sir—A good deal occupied at present in preparation for my departure, I have neglected to answer your last letter relating to the Township Library in Dalhousie. When

I made the inquiry, had I looked to the map for one moment, I might have seen the impossibility of uniting the name with Ramsay, but in truth it ran in my head that the two adjoined each other. As you assure me that the library will be well promoted and taken care of afterwards, I have great pleasure in contributing to an object so likely to do good. I beg my name may be put upon the list, and as for my subscription, I shall place it with Mr. Greig. You can draw for it when you choose—cashier of Quebec Bank payable to you, one hundred dollars to the funds of the Library. I shall send you two boxes of books of various matters, chiefly on agriculture, with a copy of the “*Encyclopædia Britannica*” as a foundation-stone to future less bulky works. I’ll send them by the boat to Fort William and addressed to you at Perth. Do me the favour to assure the settlers in Ramsay, Lanark and Dalhousie that, though distant, I shall never lose sight of these new settlements and always feel a warm interest in their future prosperity.

“Yours, my Dear Sir,

“Most Sincerely and Faithfully,

“DALHOUSIE.

“Thos. Marshall, Perth.”⁶

Then came in answer, and in the form of an address, the grateful outpouring of thankful hearts, accompanied by a brief account of the beginnings of St. Andrew’s Society in Dalhousie, of the expressed longing for a “Minister,” and of their sincere well-wishes for the future of the Governor and all his house.

“To the Right Honourable the Earl of Dalhousie, Governor-in-Chief of the Canadas, etc.:

“My Lord—We, the undersigned managers of the Dalhousie Public Library, honoured by the patronage of your lordship, beg leave most gratefully to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship’s letter through Colonel Marshall, stating your lordship’s most condescending request to have your honoured name enrolled as a member, also intimating the most munificent donation of money and books which your lordship has been pleased to give for the behoof of the library, which we assure your lordship has called forth the most unfeigned feelings and expressions of gratitude and respect for your lordship from all its members, who unanimously agreed that your lordship’s

name should stand the first on the roll; your letter preserved as a valuable relic; and to be copied into the minutes of the Society. And did charge and enjoin on us to forward to your lordship, without delay, their most cordial thanks for that particular and most beneficent act of your lordship's generosity which has given such an impulse to the progress of useful knowledge among us.

"Your lordship is aware that the greater part of the settlers in this township have emigrated from Scotland, where they had the opportunity of acquiring education and a considerable share of general intelligence. Duly appreciating these invaluable blessings, it was with painful feelings that we often reflected that our offspring were too likely to be deprived of the like opportunities of improving their mind. Two years ago a number of us formed ourselves into a society called 'The Dalhousie St. Andrew's Philanthropic Society,' the design of which is to promote a friendly intercourse and a mutual assistance in case of sickness or misfortune. Also to take the earliest opportunity of forming a library in order that the rising generation might be blest with the means of acquiring that useful knowledge which we so highly value. The Society's anniversary meetings, on the 30th November, have hitherto been held in a schoolhouse. At our last meeting a number of gentlemen from Lanark and Perth, approving of the spirit of the institution, favoured us with their presence, when the propriety of building a house for the use of the Society and other laudable purposes was suggested and agreed to, to which they have liberally subscribed. This house is now nearly finished, in which there is to be a hall, 32 feet by 22 inside, and is to be fitted up with presses for the depository of the library, which we trust will long remain a monument of your lordship's generosity, and prove to many yet unborn that your lordship was actuated by principles worthy of our country and your exalted rank.

"We further trust, from the very laudable and benevolent exertions of that Society, formed in Glasgow, also honoured by your lordship's patronage, that we will ere long be blest with a Gospel preaching by having a stated minister, which, together with the increase of common schools, enables us to enjoy the pleasure of hoping that the rising and future generations will have every facility afforded them of acquiring that degree of knowledge which (even in common life) is so essentially necessary to form the mind to just and equitable

principles, and fit it for the discharge of all the social and moral duties of life, good and loyal subjects of our King, and a firm and unbending adherence and attachment to our uncorrupted creed and to our inestimable constitution, the birthright, boast and pride of every true Briton.

"We beg leave to participate in the very general feeling of regret for your lordship's departure from this country, and the administration of the Government thereof, which you have so long conducted with so much dignity and wisdom as to secure the esteem of all the truly loyal and discerning part of His Majesty's subjects. Our regret is, however, mingled with joy from the certain knowledge that your conduct has gained the entire approbation of our beloved Sovereign and that your removal is to higher honours and preferments.

"That your lordship may long live to enjoy those well-merited honours and preferments, and that your eminent talents and distinguished virtues may descend in your family to the latest posterity, is the sincere wish and prayer of your lordship's most obedient, humble servants.

In the name and on behalf of the Dalhousie Public Library:

(signed) Thomas Scott
Charles Baillie
James Muir

John McIntyre
William Lambe
James Robertson

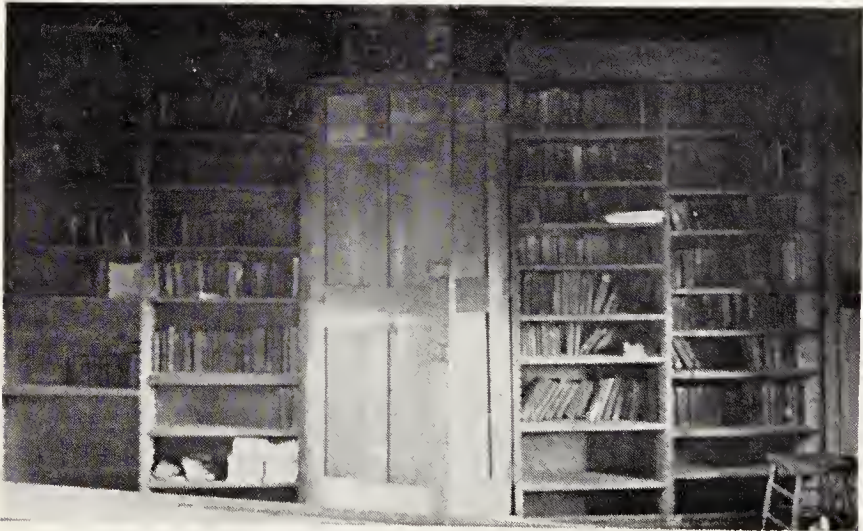
"Township of Dalhousie, September 1st, 1828."

And in this fashion there comes across the years this note of cheer and gladness from the early forest uplands of the township of Dalhousie, and from a day when yet the settlement had closed but eight years of its existence. Separated, as they were, by thousands of miles over sea and land from the glens and burns and hills of Homeland, and already forgetting the struggling years of which Mrs. McLellan had so vivid a recollection, the sturdy pioneers of Dalhousie were already gathering around St. Andrew's Hall as a kind of communal centre that served as a church and a school and a common meeting place. The "Petition" to the Governor refers to the hall as nearing completion in September—the reference in an old catalogue fixes the establishment of the library in a few informing words: "Instituted April 1st, 1828 Dalhousie, patron."





PRESENT LOCATION OF LIBRARY AT WATSON'S CORNERS



THE LIBRARY SHELVES TO-DAY

On one of the township's many rocky hills, where yet, as for a century past, the visitor still views with delight the charming prospect of countless other hills near and distant, the remnants of the ancient groves of pine and hardwood, shattered by the constant ravages of man, the shimmering patches of the tortuous Clyde, with here and there an old-fashioned farmstead nestling in its shady hollow, the pioneer settlers raised St. Andrew's Hall. For over seventy years it remained a landmark and witnessed the constant and un-failing patronage of all the countryside, as the faithful subscribers of the library, sheltered in the hall, sought to gratify the longing of an intellectual hunger that only the silent companionship of books can ever appease.

Except for the associations of these early years, and apart from its name and delightful situation, no glamour of romance could ever be woven around its architectural splendour. For the "Hall" was only a rude log building in the forest, boasting, however, a spacious, old-fashioned fireplace and of which, over a quarter of a century gone, nothing can be seen but remnants of its foundations. Set in among some clumps of evergreens about a quarter of a mile from Watson's Corners, the old structure stood a few yards back from the main highway leading north-westwards from Perth and Lanark, through the townships of Dalhousie and Lavant.

Again, as a parting remembrance and as a kind of farewell message to the little library so far from the busier haunts of men, the earl, on the 8th of September, wrote once more:

"In sending up a book on dairy husbandry for the Dalhousie Library, I send also a pack of my arms to be pasted on the books, as a cognizance of the township which, I beg, may be adopted as my own."

Encouraged by the generous treatment of Dalhousie, the pioneers next turned their minds to the "Apostle of the Woods," who had now become of consequence in the clerical world. Like the Governor-General, he too had an abiding interest in and sympathy with all earnest intellectual effort. Unlike the Governor, and though of gentle nurture also, he had experienced the actual trials and privations of the pioneer, intensified at

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

times by his devotion to religious duty. For in his missionary life he had subsisted on the simplest fare. Fridays, for example, were given to fasting, meditation and prayer, with a rude meal of potatoes and salt. Consecrated in England, on the 21st of January, as the second Anglican Lord Bishop of Quebec, he who had been the Rev. Charles Stewart was installed in the cathedral at that city, on the 4th of June of the same year. A few months after he received a message of the men of Dalhousie, his greetings and his gracious reply disclosed another source of co-operation and encouragement to the progress and success of St. Andrew's Hall and the Library.

“*Quebec*, Feb. 17, 1829.

“Gentlemen—Pardon my not sooner acknowledging the receipt of your acceptable letter, enclosing one to me of an old date from my friend Alexander Young, W. S. Edinburgh. You do me honour in “being anxious to place my name second on the list of subscribers, as your patron in Canada,” of the Dalhousie Library. It will give me pleasure to belong to the institution and to promote its interests as far as lies in my power. I shall be happy to send you my subscription and donation of books as soon as a good opportunity offers for my doing so. I shall recommend the institution to my friends; and earnestly desiring its prosperity and sincerely thanking you for the handsome manner in which you have applied to me,

“I remain, Gentlemen,

C. J. QUEBEC.

“Mr. Thos. Scott, Mr. Chas. Baillie, Dalhousie.”⁹

The early gifts of books are listed in an old record bearing the date of June 1st, 1847, when the number of the library's books had reached 832, beginning with the Encyclopædia, as volumes numbers 1 to 20, and Howett's “Priestcraft and Kingscraft” as No. 832. The donations were the following:

	Vols.
1829—By His Excellency, the Earl of Dalhousie.....	116
Col. William Marshall.....	6
Lord Bishop of Quebec, Hon. Charles Stewart.....	37
Dr. Gemmill, some tracts and	3
William Morris, Esq., Perth.....	2
A. Morris, Esq., Brockville.....	1
Roderick Matheson, Esq., Perth.....	1



Earl of Dalhousie.

THE DALHOUSIE ARMS



An Old Library

	Vols.
1830—Wm. Morris, Esq., Perth.....	6
Glasgow North American Colonial Society.....	45
Lord Bishop of Quebec.....	12
Henry J. Boulton, Esq.....	4
Mr. Sullivan, York.....	5
1831—Rev. Wm. McAllister, Lanark.....	4
Malcolm Cameron, Esq., Perth.....	1
Alex. McInnes, Lanark.....	1
1839—John Dougall, Montreal.....	4
1844—Malcolm Cameron, M.P.P., Lanark.....	6

The earliest financial statement of the Library has not survived, and except for a few gifts, like those of Lord Dalhousie for \$100, it is impossible to learn the sources of income. Fees were paid by readers and fines were exacted for defaulters in the return of books on the days fixed for the purpose. In March, 1829, the accounts were fairly flourishing, for the treasurer reported a balance of £11. 1s. 10½d. In 1840 the total receipts, including a previous balance on hand, were £20. 9s. 2d. And the disbursements for that year show something of the Library's routine affairs.

	£.	s.	d.
1840—March 9—Paid William Ellis for books.....		10	0
22— “ postage 7 letters.....		12	3
June 22— “ Armour & Ramsay (books?).....	10	0	0
— “ Letter frame to D. Hogg.....		10	0
— “ Wellington Testimonial.....	5	0	0
— “ One cord of firewood.....		5	0
— “ Three stove pipes. F. Turner, Lanark.....		3	6
— “ Librarian's wages.....			
Pasteboard, /6.....			
Cloth, 1/6.....	3	2	0
	£ 20	2	9

Apart from the Earl of Dalhousie and the Bishop of Quebec, the next most distinguished contributor was one of the outstanding figures of Upper Canada, and one whose name is inseparable from all the unending controversy in Church and State for a generation. He who had arrived in Canada, as

he used to say himself, "on the last day of the last week of the last month of the last year of the last century," with the Presbyterian lineage of an Aberdonian, was ordained a clergyman of the Church of England in Canada in 1803, and, as the years went on, became an Executive Councillor, Archdeacon of York, Superintendent of Education for Upper Canada, and the first Lord Bishop of Toronto, comprising within his spiritual jurisdiction the whole of the Province. As Archdeacon of York, the Rev. Dr. John Strachan offered his aid and addressed his letter to his kinsmen in Dalhousie. Dissenters they might be—Radicals too—who in the years to come voted unfailingly to destroy the Clergy Reserves and Dr. Strachan's unfailing interest in the establishment of Anglican supremacy, but in 1829 the pioneers of Dalhousie were simply Scotsmen, and that was enough for him.

"York, Nov. 2, 1829.

"Gentlemen—I have much pleasure in sending you my small mite—£1 5s.—enclosed for the benefit of your meritorious institution, and you do me only justice in believing that I retain a warm regard for my countrymen and some remains of clanship. In no country are the advantages of education more felt and appreciated than in Scotland, nor, I believe, can any country boast of equal purity in the foundation upon which that education rests. If the Scotch are a moral and religious people, it is because the truths of Christianity are made the basis of all their knowledge. In learning the letters of the alphabet they learn their duty to God and man. A library of well-selected books must prove of inestimable advantage to your neighbourhood. Ignorance is a great enemy to virtue, and I know no greater object of pity than a man who cannot read. Such unhappy persons are, I hope, becoming scarce, and the multiplication of local libraries and schools will, I trust, extinguish them altogether, and, in time, render it disgraceful for any to be found who are unable to read and write. Although my name can add nothing to an institution so excellent in itself and already under men with efficient patronage, I beg to be considered a member, and when I come to your part of the country I shall take the liberty of availing myself of the privilege of reading some of your books. Should an

opportunity present itself, I shall be glad to be favoured with a catalogue of your books, and the rules which you may have adopted for the management of your institution. Believe me, gentlemen.

“Sincerely yours,

“JOHN STRACHAN.⁹

“Messrs Hood and Baillie.”

Some of the entries in the treasurer's books of later years show the careful planning of the library officers to make and print a catalogue which, while serviceable, would not make too severe an inroad upon their narrow means, and several trips to the printer at Perth were necessary before he could be directed to carry out the work. Nothing, however, except hand-written lists remain.

St. Andrew's Hall was put to a variety of uses. It was numbered among the early schoolhouses, with John Brown as teacher—the son of a Glasgow elder. In still earlier days George Richmond was the “dominie,” coming with those who had embarked on the *Prompt*, but, unfortunately, closing his pioneer life ere yet it was hardly begun, and almost in the first year of the settlement—killed by a falling tree. The hall was the first church. Here on occasions Dr. Gemmill came from Lanark, and later the Rev. William McAllister offered more regular services. Not for many years, however, was any clergyman definitely settled.

The first newspaper published in the district and at the village of Perth bore the name of *The Bathurst Independent Examiner*. Only a very broken file remains, and from this record and a stray number here and there a few notices of the library or the hall indicate something of the social organization of the time. These references, scanty and incomplete as they are, offer, too, a slight commentary on the slow but gradual efforts made amid rude beginnings to strive toward the practices of older and more settled communities.

In the second year of the publication of *The Examiner*, and in its issue of the 16th of October, 1829, the following notice appears:

"The annual election of office bearers for the Dalhousie St. Andrew's Philanthropic Society will take place within the Society's Hall on Friday, the 30th instant, at twelve o'clock noon, and as it is intended to make some alteration in some of the Articles, it is expected that every member will attend."

"N.B.—It is particularly requested that those members or friends who intend to Prie a Haggis at Dalhousie on St. Andrew's Day will give notice to the Committee a fortnight prior to that day.

"Dalhousie, October 5th, 1829."

The references to the Society's Rules, when offered for incorporation at a later time and appearing at the close of this sketch, indicate how thoroughly, whether at this or subsequent meetings, the Committee did its work. With an intelligent understanding of their needs, a notion of responsibility for the success of an institution dear to their hearts and to be preserved for posterity, a love approaching veneration for the books, the presses, the records, the hall, all are shown in the care and completeness exhibited in the Rules and Regulations that for so long guided the conduct of the Society.

Another notice in the issue of the 13th of November raises another question, and marks the recognition of an onward-moving community.

"At the last meeting of 'The St. Andrew's Friendly Society' the acre of ground given for the use of St. Andrew's Hall and for that of the Public Library, was converted into a public or Society burying-ground, of which every member is to have a lair of nine square yards, and every one not a member can purchase a lair for 7/6. As there was no place in the township set apart for the purpose of burying the dead, we reckon this among the number of praiseworthy deeds of this excellent society, and we trust it will put a stop to the uncivilized method too prevalent in this country of making every farm a sepulchre."

But the indiscriminate grave-making continued. Indeed in many places throughout these townships, even into recent years, the little graveyards here and there, occasionally still used, show how we cling to the customs of a past long outworn. Here and there, too, across these townships a clump of two or

three or four pine or elm trees planted as saplings long ago, announce to all the countryside the last resting place of some of the "rude forefathers" of the settlement, or, if along the banks of streams, the hurried grave of some unfortunate shanty-man in lumbering days.

A further notice, appearing on the 20th of the month, gave evidence of social activity:

"The annual meeting of the members of St. Andrew's Philanthropic Society will take place in the Society's Hall on Monday, the 30th November next, at 5 p.m., and it is particularly requested that those members or friends who live at a distance and intend to be present on the occasion will give notice of their intention at least a fortnight prior to the meeting. By order of the Committee.

"CHARLES BAILLIE,
"Secretary.

"Dalhousie, October 25, 1829."

Many an hour of jovial delight was spent in this old hall. The cellar was not without its element of cheer. Old half-pay officers from Perth, coming on horseback over the rough bush roads, never begrudged the distance or the time and often braved an inclement evening "to hae' a nicht o't." And many a Tam o' Shanter, as he rode back in the early morning before the grey dawn broke, felt glad that he had reached the Clyde or the Mississippi, and, crossing safely over, left the warlocks far behind.

The hall served as a meeting place for the first Township Council, if such it can be called, for the settlers, even as early as 1827, were organized municipally for the protection of their farm stock, the improvement of roads and other matters later coming within the purview of the Act Respecting Municipal Institutions, which yet was a long way in the future. The Sheriff sold the lands and goods of debtors; the Treasurer of Bathurst District offered for sale lands fallen into arrears for taxes, and St. Andrew's Hall witnessed the official declarations. Baptisms, marriages, social celebrations—the hall gave sanctuary for these as well and the solemn old books looked down from their old-fashioned shelves upon all this record of business and community life and growth for many decades.

The only detailed description of St. Andrew's Hall is found in a letter written on the 16th of April, 1832, by John McIntyre, the Secretary of the Library, to Alexander Morris at Brockville, in an application for insurance.

"The Managers of the Dalhousie Library are wishing to insure the Library against loss of fire and have instructed me to write to you for information on the subject. The Library consists of 500 volumes and is wished to be insured to the amount of £200—the house is valued at £50. It is a log building covered with shingles. The library room is a hall 32 feet by 22 feet within, and is occasionally occupied as a place of worship, holding township meetings, and is heated by a stove. The distance of the house from the bush on the north, north-west and south-west, is from fifty to sixty yards. On the east and south-east there is a clearance of from thirty to forty acres, with a fine house newly erected in the same clearance intended for a dwelling-house, but not yet furnished or occupied, and stands about fifty yards from the Library room. There is a small house adjoining the library room, where there is an occasional fire kept. It has a good stone chimney and the stove-pipe from the library room passes into it and comes up from thence as high as the roof of the library room. I have now communicated all the particulars respecting the house and the library that I can think to be necessary."

St. Andrew's Hall vanished from the landscape of Dalhousie over a quarter of a century ago, but the Library still remains, having suffered very considerably from the ravages of time. Thomas Scott was the first president and the guide, philosopher and friend of the Dalhousie Library Society from its inception in the spring of 1828, till his removal to Western Ontario in 1854, when his place was taken by Hugh Hunter, who held office for another fifteen years. The names of John Munro, James Reid, Andrew McInnes, John J. Paul, John Cumming, William Boyd and James Park, bring the presidency up to recent years and its present state of general disorganization. James Park, the last active Secretary, died in 1921 at the age of eighty-four. His grandfather, also James Park, came from Rutherglen and the estate of Earl Grey in the emigration of 1820, and with his two sons

and three daughters drew lot twelve in the second concession of Dalhousie. He was a fine mechanic, following the trades of carpenter, builder and cabinet-maker in the old land, and adding to these accomplishments the business of farming in the new. To him, in the winter of 1827, fell the task of making the bookcases for the Dalhousie library. The planks or boards were made out of the great pine trees from neighboring hills and manufactured in a sawpit in the forest. Two wooden cases were constructed, each nine feet high and six feet wide, by about eighteen inches deep—after the idea of the old-fashioned clothes-press. The workmanship is excellent and these wooden cases to-day after nearly a hundred years, are quite as good as the day they left the hand of the artificer. John Douglas, the blacksmith at Watson's Corners, fashioned the hooks that held then, as they do now, the wide opening doors together.

And the books! What an awful feeling of dismay one look at the list offers to the general reader, and especially to the young reader of to-day—one thinks of Horace's wail over the failing stamina of the successive years—the age of our fathers worse than of our grandfathers, soon to give way to a more degenerate progeny. Whether the lament is true or not, the fact remains that these Scots pioneers were engaged in the serious business of making life possible in the bush, but their old-time quality led them also to seek with a kind of hunger after the intellectual refreshment caught and fixed in so many of these old books, that to us as we look at them seems as hard to master as to uproot the pine stumps from the scanty clearings.

Notice has already been taken of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*," in twenty volumes. There were also two other such publications, the "Popular" and the "Domestic" *Encyclopædia*, adding ten volumes more. A short, selected list, taken from the library roll, with the numbers attached, will give the present-day reader a fair idea of the intellectual quality of the backwoods reader of 1830:

31	38—Hume's History of England.....	8 Vols.
56	61—Gibbon's Roman Empire.....	6 "
77	78—Antiquities of Greece.....	1 "

96	97—Josephus' Works.....	2	Vols.
104	108—D'Aubigne's History of Reformation.....	5	"
111	126—Dr. Cumming's Scripture Readings Lectures on the Parables, etc.....	16	"
135	—Book of Common Prayer.....	1	"
136	137—Dwight's Theology.....	2	"
167	170—Hale's Contemplations.....	4	"
191	192—Wilson's Sermons.....	2	"

In general literature the poems of Burns and of Sir Walter Scott and the essays of Macaulay and Carlyle found places on the shelves, alongside of works on astronomy, and *The Phrenological Journal*. Novels were given a considerable freedom. The earlier works of Dickens (which were then being born), "Charles O'Malley," "The Scarlet Letter," and in later years a more generous collection. Biography was well represented by Scott's Napoleon in three volumes; Fox's Memoirs, the Lives of Nelson and Mary Queen of Scots, in a two-volume edition. Many other books of a general and informing nature had a place—volumes of the "Caledonian Horticultural Society"; four volumes of "Trade and Navigation Returns;" "The Army List;" "The New York Canals," and seventeen volumes of the *Edinburgh Almanack*.

The reading was always eagerly sought, and the members made long tramps through the woods to procure delights for the coming two months, for issues to readers were made but six times a year. Every Library Day the Hall was crowded from morning till night. As James Park remarked, "It was just like a fair day," and the borrowers were eager and expectant. The story is related that one member came many miles through the woods prepared to borrow the whole twenty volumes of the "Encyclopædia Britannica," and in finding it against the rules turned away sorrowful. Many a discussion at "bees" and "raisings" were endorsed by arguments drawn from Howett on "Priestcraft" or Doddridge on "Regeneration." The men of Dalhousie worked hard and meditated deeply on things of Church and State, and their otherwise uneventful lives were given a deep satisfaction out of what, to them at least, were the treasures maintained in the old bookcases of St. Andrew's Hall.

None among the treasures of the library was held more especially dear by the older members than a letter from James Andrew Brown Ramsay, the tenth Earl of Dalhousie, and who had spent several years of his boyhood in Canada when his father was Governor-General. Although the youngest of three brothers, owing to the untimely deaths of the others he came into the title in 1838, after the death of his distinguished father. His career cannot be followed here—

“Born at Dalhousie Castle, Scotland, on the 22nd April, 1812, he crowded into his short life conspicuous public services in England, and established an unrivalled position among the master-builders of the Indian Empire.”

On the death of the ninth Earl, the officers of the Library addressed a letter of condolence to his successor. The reply is encased in an antique folding frame of mahogany, with glass, and is here repeated in full:

“Dalhousie Castle, March 29, 1839.

“Gentlemen—I had the honour, several months ago, to receive your letter conveying to me in the kindest terms your sorrow for the loss which I had then recently sustained in the death of my father, Lord Dalhousie, and requesting me to accept in his place ‘of the membership and patronage’ of the Dalhousie Library Society, and to continue to it the use of my coat of arms. The letter did not reach me till late in the autumn, and I judged it better to defer my reply until the opening of the season. That time has now arrived, and I delay no longer in offering you my truest thanks for this mark of your attachment to the memory of my father. A token of respect such as this, so feelingly worded, issuing from a far distant spot and yet embracing many familiar Scottish names, would at any time have been most interesting, but now the events of that last sad year—which has swept away from me both father and mother, both of those who connected me with the country in which you live and in whose society I spent the happiest years of my life—have made me more than usually susceptible of kinship and sympathy. I feel your letter to be touching and gratifying in the highest degree. The circumstances under which the Library was instituted were familiar to me, and having been long accustomed to hear Lord Dalhousie speak of its prospects with interest, I rejoice sincerely to learn its great success. To your request that I would accept

of the membership and patronage, I accede with pride and satisfaction, and place heartily at your service the use of the arms of my family. The description which you give of the management and contents of the Library are very satisfactory, and I trust you will adhere to the system of admitting to it none but such works of solid instruction and sound piety as will make your children both useful and upright—men of right-based integrity, as well as men of useful knowledge. I have thought that to Scotsmen, as you are, I could not offer a more acceptable addition to your collection than the latest and best history of the land of your birth. There is now one in progress by Mr. Tyler, which is certainly the fullest and the best that has yet been published. As soon as it is completed, which may not be, however, for some little time, I will take the liberty of forwarding a copy to the Society, and I please myself with the hope that this book, among others, may tend to preserve in your community the feelings and character of Scotsmen. It will also show your children what their forefathers were and what they did; and so keep alive a Scottish spirit by inspiring them with an honest pride in the merits and fame of those who have gone before them, thus strengthening that natural inclination, so strongly marked in all of Scottish descent, which makes their hearts graven to the names and the honours of "Auld Lang Syne." With the request that you will convey to the Dalhousie Library Society the expression of my gratitude for their friendship and attention, and in the hope that on all future occasions they will freely make use of my services, if in any way I can be of service to them,

"I have the honour to remain, Sirs, your very obliged and very obedient, humble servant

"DALHOUSIE.

"To Mr. Geo. Easton, President,
Mr. J. McIntyre, Secretary
of the Dalhousie Library Society, ¹¹
Upper Canada."

The files of the *Courier* add one other note of the attachment shown by these settlers to the Laird of Dalhousie Castle. Far away from home and kindred, passing also into a generation whose knowledge of the wars of old was ceasing in its lively recollection, nevertheless the call of kinsmen could not be allowed to fall upon unwilling ears. On the 5th of June, 1840, at the annual muster of the Left Wing of the Lanark Militia,

held at the centre of the township, and composed of its inhabitants—a practice of a day and of a time long since forgotten—Major Playfair, the Commanding Officer, formed the men into close column. John McIntyre then read a communication from the Earl of Dalhousie, as Chairman of the General Committee at Edinburgh, to raise a national testimonial to the Duke of Wellington. The letter being read, a sergeant of each company went along with sub-lists, which were signed by most of those present.—“Lord Dalhousie will understand that the appeal to his countrymen has not been made in vain.”

On the 5th of March, 1852, at the annual meeting the Committee laid before the members a proposal for incorporation which was carried unanimously. The report of this meeting gives a kind of summary typical of the general conduct of business:

“That books be given out every two months as formerly, Ordered *Chamber's Journal*, old and new series, also “Hogg's Instructor.” All the old books not fit for binding to be sold. The yearly reading to be 3/. James Reid and Hugh Hunter, junior, to be librarians, to receive 3/ per day. Hugh Hunter, Sen'r., treasurer and book examiner, to receive 2/ per day. Committee: Thomas Scott, Presses, to receive free reading this year. Committee, James Reid, Vispresses, John Craig, John Cumming, William Watson, Andrew Park, William Ellis, James Park, Peter Cumming, William Penman.”

A week later Peter Cumming, William Watson and James Reid, were appointed a Committee “to draw up the Constitution.” In a few days these men reported, but although the record indicates approval, two of the Committee were “ordered to take it with them when they go to Perth to purchase books for the library and get it properly drawn up and registered.”

In September the work of incorporation was completed. At the risk of being over-long, the record is here transcribed, for there are few institutions in Upper Canada that have a like history:

“Whereas certain persons have subscribed money and books for the purpose of establishing a Library in the township of Dalhousie in the County of Lanark in the Province of Canada and the same is now and hath been for this sometime past

in successful operation under the name of the Dalhousie Library, and whereas it hath been determined to incorporate the said Library under the provisions of an Act made and passed in the fourteenth and fifteenth years of Her Majesty's reign, entitled "An Act to Provide for the Incorporation and Better Management of Library Associations and Mechanics' Institutes."

"*Now this Declaration Witnesseth* that we, Thomas Scott, of the Township of Dalhousie in the County of Lanark, yeoman, President of the said Library; James Reid, of the same place, yeoman, Vice-President of the said Library; Hugh Hunter the elder, of the same place, yeoman, Secretary and Treasurer of the said Library; James Reid, of the same place, yeoman, Librarian of the said Library; and Peter Cumming, James Park, William Watson, John Cumming, William Penman, James Reid, Andrew Park, William Ellis and John Craig, all of the same place, yeomen, the Committee of Management of the said Library, having determined to incorporate the said Library in accordance with the provisions of the said recited Act, do hereby declare that the said Library shall be known as the Dalhousie Library and that the same shall be incorporated according to the provisions of the said recited Act, subject nevertheless to the constitution, rules, resolutions and by-laws of the said Library, now made or hereafter to be made and passed, for the government and management of the said Library and the members thereof.

"*In Witness Whereof* we, the said parties hereto, have hereunto set our hands and seals this third day of September in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two."

Committee of Management	{	Thomas Scott, President	(Seal)
		James Reid, Vice-President	(Seal)
		Hugh Hunter, Secretary and Treas- urer	(Seal)
		James Reid, Librarian,	(Seal)
		Peter Cumming	(Seal)
		James Park	(Seal)
		William Watson	(Seal)
		John Cumming	(Seal)
		William Penman	(Seal)
		James Reid	(Seal)
		Andrew Park	(Seal)
		William Ellis	(Seal)
		John Craig	(Seal)

"A copy of the Constitution of the Dalhousie Library required by Statute fourteenth and fifteenth Victoria to be filed in the Registry Office of the County of Lanark, along with the declaration of the office bearers of said library stating the determination of said office bearers to incorporate said Library.

"1st. That in order to invigorate the intellectual and improve the moral department of our nature it is judged a matter of great utility to establish and keep up in all time coming a library in this township, and that the same shall be designated the Dalhousie Library.

"2nd. That it shall be open to all who are inclined to take the benefit of said Library, without preference to country or religious profession, provided always that such persons shall maintain a good moral character and conform to all the rules and regulations of said Society.

"3rd. That in order to carry said resolutions into effect, it is deemed necessary that the following office bearers be appointed, viz., a President and Vice-President, one Librarian, a Secretary and Treasurer and nine of a Committee to be either increased or diminished as a majority of the members of said Library, at their annual general meeting, may see fit, and that *five shall be a quorum*, and that the President shall have the casting vote, when there shall be an equal number of votes on both sides.

"4th. That it shall be the duty of each and every member, upon their first admission into the Society, to pay the sum of five shillings upon their entry and three shillings annually on the first Friday in March in each and every year, for the use and benefit of said Library; and if any member shall be a non-resident within the said township of Dalhousie they shall give such security as the Committee may demand that they will return whatever volume or volumes they may receive out of the said library.

"5th. That controversies shall be settled by a majority of the reading members and in full standing with the Library at the annual general meeting, or a special meeting called for that purpose, and that no member shall be entitled to vote or participate in any of the privileges of the Society until they have paid their annual payments and fines, if any there be.

"6th. That the site of the said Library shall be on the east half of lot No. 12 in the third concession of Dalhousie, and in no case shall the said library be removed to a greater distance than three-fourths of a mile, unless by the consent of at least

three-fourths of the reading members of the said Library and resident in the township of Dalhousie at the time such removal shall be contemplated.

"7th. That a general meeting of all the members of the said Library shall be held annually within the library room on the first Friday of March in each and every year, at the hour of eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and it shall be the duty of the said meeting to make, alter and amend all laws that they may deem expedient for the well-working of said Library; provided always that they shall not alter the site of the said Library as herebefore provided in the 6th article of this Constitution. They shall appoint all office bearers and to name their salaries, to settle and determine all disputes that may arise from any cause whatever, and to transact all business connected with the Library that may be brought before them at said meeting.

"8th. That in no case shall any member be entitled at any time to withdraw his share from the joint stock or funds of the Library, but it may descend to his heirs, or may be transferred to any person, provided that the said person shall be approved of by a majority of the committee.

"Given under our hands at Dalhousie this third day of September in year of Our Lord One thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

"THOMAS SCOTT, President.

"HUGH HUNTER, Secretary and Treasurer."

"A general statement of the nature and amount of property held by the Dalhousie Library, required by the Statute fourteenth and fifteenth, Chapter 86, to be filed in the Registry Office of the County of Lanark, along with the declaration of the office bearers of the said Library, stating the determination of said office bearers to incorporate said library.

800 Vols. books.....	£	300	0	0
1 stove and pipes.....		2	10	0
Cash in Treasurer's hands.....		1	15	0
		£	304	5 0

"Given under our hands at Dalhousie this third day of September in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-two.

HUGH HUNTER, Secretary and Treasurer.

JAMES REID, Librarian

THOS. SCOTT, President.

JAMES REID, Vice-President.

An Old Library

William Mann
James Gibson
Peter Cumming
William Ellis
James Park
John Cumming
William Penman
John Craig
William Watson
Donald McNicol
Hugh Hunter, Jr.
James Machan
Robert Cumming
David Easton
Thomas Easton
Charles McArthur
George McMillan
Neil O'Neil
James Fair
Edward McInnes
Robert Gardiner
Robert Hay
John Gordon
John Campbell
John Donald
Thos. McMillan
John Leckie
James Nairn
Thomas McInnes
William McInnes
Duncan McInnes
Charles Brown
William Hay
Allan Ferguson
William Barrie
David Brownlie
Walter Burns
Edward Casey
Henry McCarton

William Barrie
William Bateson
Robert Leckie
James Purdon
Robert Purdon
A. McInnes
Andrew Park
John Gow
Archibald Browning
Robert Ogilvie
William Cuthbertson
James Hanna
Archibald Nairn
Robert Stone
John Ronald
R. C. Johnston
J. H. Dayton
William Buffum
John McNicol
John Livingston
Thomas Beggs
Alexander Mathie
G. W. Young
Hugh McLean
Duncan McDonald
Alex. Ellis
John Regan
William Thoms
Thomas Scott
Joseph Park
D. McIntosh
Robert Batison
John Scott
Andrew Machan
Francis Reid
Andrew Park
William Boyd
And others.¹²

For another fifty years or so the Library lived on. In the eighties interest began to dwindle. The rapid extension of the magazine and periodical literature, and the rise of a

new generation with other ideas and ideals, opened upon a new day. By 1900 the membership had fallen to twelve, and the books numbered about 350. And then the hall disappeared and the library was housed in any convenient place, but with no especial care, and now rests in a "Temperance Hall"—a rather unassuming meeting place above an open public horse-shed. From time to time spasmodic efforts have been made to revive the institution, but with no result. As late as the autumn of 1915 meetings were held, looking to the purchase of a new site. A place was agreed on, the price arranged and the business was to be concluded by April of the next year. This movement, too, fell by the wayside. Isabel Skelton, in her charming and unusual book, "The Backwoodswoman," shows how much the burden of pioneer days fell upon the backs of the women, whose faith and faithfulness meant so much for the life of the early period and placed our own day under a debt to them that time can never repay. The descendants of the Pioneer Women of Dalhousie, The Women's Institute of Watson's Corners, true to the tradition of "the essential things—work, love, faith," are presently seeking recognition from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, for the old Hall and its Historic Library. But it commemorates no feat of arms—no swords have here been dyed in the blood of enemies—no guns have roared above Dalhousie's hills. The landmarks of peace and the glories of the daily round and the common task have yet to find special recognition in the simple, yet really glorious, annals of a nation.

VII

ANDREW DICKSON, SHERIFF

A PIONEER OF PAKENHAM

IN THE Upper Canada *Gazette* of March 30th, 1822, this notice may be found:

"Surveyor-General's Office, York, March 30th, 1822.

"Notice is hereby given that sealed proposals will be received at this office, on or before Wednesday, the 15th day of May next ensuing (to be opened on that day), for the survey of the undermentioned townships in the Johnstown District, containing about 66,000 acres each, that is to say:

"The Township of Lavant in the rear of Dalhousie.

" " " Darling in the rear of Lanark.

" " " Pakenham in the rear of Ramsay.

" " " Fitzroy in the rear of Huntley.

" " " Torbolton in the rear of March.

"The surveys to be paid for in land, by a percentage on the land surveyed.

"Two sufficient sureties will be required that the surveys be completed conformably to the instructions that will be delivered from this office, and that all inaccuracies or errors in the survey be made good at the expense of the contractors.

"The lands to compensate the contractor for his surveys will be drawn after the distribution of the two sevenths.

"The peremptory Settlement Duty on each lot required by the present regulation will be dispensed with on the lands granted in compensation of survey. The patents to issue without fee and without the clause of limitation as to the sale of the land granted.

"THOMAS RIDOUT,

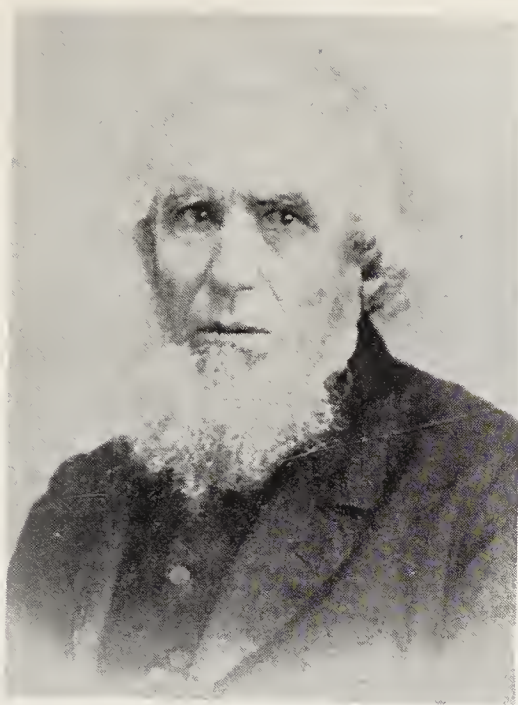
"Surveyor-General."

In passing, it may be observed that the language of the notice reflects the conditions of that far-away time, when one-seventh of the land was reserved for Clergy Reserves, and

one-seventh for Crown Reserves, and only after these were selected could the surveyors choose theirs by way of compensation. Subject to these three reservations, the settler came fourth in the list of land selection.

The survey of the township of Pakenham, being completed during the summers of 1822 and 1823, lots were now open for location. The name was that of Sir Edward Michael Pakenham, a brother-in-law of the Duke of Wellington, and who was killed in 1815 in the British expedition against the Americans at New Orleans. Among the earliest to come were a few of the Hon. Peter Robinson's Irishmen, who, for some unaccountable reason, found locations not in the east along the Mississippi River, where the land was good, but in the westerly portion of the township, among the rocks and pine woods of the "Pakenham Mountains," with the names of Green and Boyle and Mantle prevailing.

And by the year 1826 Sir Peregrine Maitland, in his report to the Earl of Bathurst upon the success of Robinson's colony, is able to show that these Pakenham settlers, after two years upon their lands, with their miserable holdings, are able to offer an example of real progress, even in a rocky forest wilderness. The Irish pioneers of Pakenham had each small clearings of from four to eight acres, and, although their production of grain was small, they had produced 1,000 bushels of potatoes and 500 of turnips, and had acquired some thirty or forty head of cattle. Limited, indeed, these beginnings were, and barely yet removed from the verge of starvation, which had so lately been their unhappy lot in Ireland. Regretfully it must be confessed, that except for what prosperity came with the development of the lumber industry in the westerly part of this township in later years, referred to generally as "Upper Pakenham," the hard conditions of life among the hills scarcely then, or ever, brought anything to the settlers in this part of the township, except a mere living, and inunfavourable years even this was won only with a struggle. While the pine lasted, the lumbering industry gave additional employment, more especially in winter-time, supplementing materially the otherwise small returns from the farms.



ANDREW DICKSON



ANDREW DICKSON'S OLD FITZROY HOME

The other side of the picture takes us along the river valley in the front of the township, the more favoured region along the course of the stream. Like almost every township through which the Five Rivers run, and, in particular, those drained by the Mississippi, this river, in its course through the township of Pakenham, not far from the confines of the neighbouring township of Fitzroy, provides in succession two very picturesque rapids, and on the lower a waterfall which offered the ever-acceptable facility in the way of a mill site. Almost invariably the establishment of a mill meant the creation of a hamlet. The disappearance of the mill, as the years went by, when business growth and extension led to a community development in some other place, meant just as invariably the disappearance of the hamlet also. But while, to-day, the milling interests of Pakenham are almost negligible, there has survived a rather attractive village, maintaining still much of its original natural beauty, for there is yet in its background setting a grove of pine trees that connect our day and generation with the beginnings of things one hundred years ago. Both up and down the river, looking from the "Auld Kirk" hill, the visitor is rewarded with delightful natural pictures, unusually full of the charm and beauty so constantly appearing and recurring in all the varying panoramic courses of the Five Rivers, as they turn and toss between wooded banks, or by quiet meadows, or through narrow, rocky hills, and everywhere amid the picturesque settings of a beautiful countryside, resting now in the accomplishment of one hundred years of history.

Already at Norway Falls—the little village of Rosebank to-day—some six or seven miles up the river from Pakenham and on the Ramsay boundary, "Sawney" Snedden's grist and sawmills were beginning to provide much-needed accommodation for the earlier settlers of both these townships. And Alex. Snedden's Inn gave rest for the weary traveller, and offered whiskey cheap and plenty for the cheer or consolation of the thirsty pioneer.

Some time about the year 1825 James Harvey, coming, like Dan Shipman, from "the Brockville front," set up a small frame gristmill at the lower fall, and the modern village

of Pakenham commenced its life as Harvey's Mills. John Powell soon joined him and for several years this partnership carried on its operations, yearly growing in importance as settlers gradually, but somewhat slowly, came into the township. Another adventurer by the name of Hume followed the possible advantage of "store-keeping," and in a small log cabin on the bank of the river, not far from Harvey's mill, with a modest stock of general merchandise of a distinctly pioneering variety, maintained at Pakenham Mills the first attempt at a trader's existence. And over and through the long bush trails, passable only by rough snow roads in the winter-time, supplies for this little backwoods store came either from Brockville, by way of Perth, or from Montreal, up the Ottawa past Sheriff's Settlement at Fitzroy Harbour.

Among the early settlers was Owen McCarthy, who had married a wife in Dublin, and with his brother Richard arrived in Canada about the year that Harvey set up his little mill in Pakenham. By 1830 Owen McCarthy, coming to the township too, had built on the side of the hill across the river from the "Auld Kirk" what was then perhaps the best dwelling-house in the township, with a basement entrance from the Fitzroy road, as one climbed the very slippery winding roadway out of the glen by the river where Harvey's Mills then stood. With his Irish hospitality, a man of more than ordinary education and possessed of means beyond that of the average settler, McCarthy was open and generous in his hospitality. His house was designed to offer cheer and rest to all who cared to come. A large dining-room invited willing visitors. Tea and coffee, scarce always in the backwoods, accompanied by substantial viands, came from a brick-enclosed oven in a spacious kitchen, for the satisfaction of visitors. Nor was there lacking anything in the cheerful and homelike reception, for a great living-room welcomed the guests as they looked out of its wide windows over what Colonel William Marshall, in his trip along the Mississippi, a few years before, and earlier than Harvey's coming, had called, for want of a better name, Bason Falls, a name suggested, doubtless, from the semicircular quiet water of the bay at the foot of the rapids. Harvey's Mills in those days offered the only accommodation, in summer-time at

any rate, for the services of the occasional preacher—the Reverend Michael Harris, for example, the Church of England missionary at Perth, who made his rounds of the settlements and celebrated the first baptismal rite in the mill. Those of the Methodist faith, too, were able sometimes to hear a wandering exhorter who came as well to the Fitzroy pioneers.

Of the time now under review one of the workmen in the mill was William Halliday, one of the twelve children of the old Scottish dominie who came with the settlers to Perth, and whose name has already appeared in these pages. William Halliday was a bit of a wag and a poet withal. Some there are who remember from the lips of their fathers or grandfathers his description of the settlements at and around Harveys' Rapids in the days before it had grown in consequence and prosperity into Pakenham Mills. Unfortunately, but little of the production has survived the wasting years—but enough, however, to show that "the lust of the eye and the pride of life" had already a footing even in the struggling life of Pakenham's pioneers:

"McCarthy determined to raise him a castle;
He summoned his neighbours, his wish to fulfil,
That he might surpass all the country around him
And crow over Harvey, who lived at the mill."

By 1828, or, as some assert, in 1831, when Harvey and Powell sold out their mills and river rights to Andrew Dickson, the township had already begun to assume some of the aspects of permanent settlement. For meanwhile, from the north and west of Ireland, with an occasional Scotsman, successive colonists came into the better locations nearer to the river front, both east and west. The Connerys from County Down, the Lowes from Limerick, the Sadlers from Roscommon and the Rosses and Bowes from Scotland's heather hills, had emigrated to Canada's backwoods. Many other names occur; Ogilvies, Baynes, McKibbons, Ellis, Needhams, McAdams, Timmons, Scotts, Russells, Burleighs, McVicar's—but the list is long. From the settlements around Perth and Lanark, also, the vigorous sons of pioneers in these localities were seeking new homes for themselves in the virgin woods of Pakenham.

Health and hard work combined to promote a longevity, calling for especial reference, a half-century later, in the columns of the *Almonte Gazette* of April 1st, 1887:

"Within a compass of a mile, on the 9th line of Pakenham, there reside ten old settlers, whose combined ages total up the astonishing aggregate of 828 years. We give the names and ages:

"James Waddell—91—Emigrated in 1832 from Lanarkshire.

"Alex. Lindsay and wife—82 and 80—Emigrated in 1821 and 1820, respectively.

"Walter Wood and wife—87 and 78—Came in 1832.

"John Lindsay and wife—86 and 82—From Scotland in 1821.

"William Clark and wife—82 each—From County Sligo in 1832.

"Mrs. McMann—78—From Sligo County also.

This brings us to the advent of Andrew Dickson, and for a better understanding of this somewhat remarkable man, we must seek his acquaintance first in the homeland of bonnie Scotland.

Andrew Dickson was born in Elginhough in Perthshire, on the 11th of November, 1797, the son of William Dickson and Jean Wallace—the eldest of a family of ten. Like his friend of later years, Thomas Macqueen, Andrew Dickson had all the old-time Scotsman's traditional love of learning. An early education was denied him, for an accident to his father, resulting in a serious lameness, cast on the son the burden of helping to support the family. But the future Sheriff of the District of Bathurst possessed a mind far above the average in capacity, and, by reading and study, he amply made up in after life for the lack of opportunity in younger days. Indeed, his determination to acquire knowledge carried with it a family incident resulting in his final emigration to Canada, for so the story runs. Andrew's eagerness to read and study resulted in what seemed to his sister Jean—careful housewife as she was—an unusual and wasteful demand upon the family supply of candles, and, with her Scotch thrift, she denied this luxury to her brother. Next he tried the flickering

and uncertain light of the open fire, and in the disappointment of his ambition in this and other ways, resolved upon a larger freedom, if even to be found only beyond the seas.

However all this may be, there is no doubt but that the reports of the Canadian emigration reflected in the correspondence passing between the Home Office and the Governors of Canada, was causing great excitement in the old land, particularly in Scotland and in Ireland, and during the ten or fifteen years following Waterloo, apart from the special emigrations, enterprising youths and heads of families, working amid difficult conditions, heard and answered the call of the new land. And thus it came that in response to an advertisement by the British Government, Andrew Dickson, in 1819, at the age of twenty-two, found himself in charge of a lighthouse at Sherburne in Nova Scotia, where, on a rocky and fog-bound coast, the young Scotsman, powerful of frame, strong in determination to win his way in the new world, sat listening nightly to the restless Atlantic, watching, as often happened, with all the interest of his years and of his unusual occupation, many a tall ship staggering and struggling in the whooping gale.

This post he held for two years. It brought what was, at the time, the princely remuneration of £200 in gold, some of which remained to help in the establishment of his father's family in Canada at a later day. Nor did the post of lighthouse-keeper ever hold for this determined boy a moment of loneliness. On the contrary, it offered a special opportunity for reading and reflection, of which he was not slow to avail himself. He turned to an unusual form of entertainment—unusual indeed for one whose early education had been so wanting—the study of Blackstone and the Common Law of England. Indeed, in later years, distinguished jurists, like Chief Justice Richards, readily acknowledged Dickson's unusual acquaintance with the law, and generally testified to the surprising extent of his knowledge in this field.

Leaving the lighthouse in 1821, Andrew Dickson sent home for his father and mother and such of the family as could come to Canada. The Perth settlement was already well known in Scotland, and thither they went. Some effort being spent in the endeavour to secure a suitable location in

the locality, but without success, the Dicksons and the Forbes—another pioneer family—set out for the township of Fitzroy, recently surveyed, as has been seen, and now fully open for settlement.

In August, 1823, Andrew Forbes and his brother (whose death in 1825 was the first in Fitzroy), settled on the west half of lot number eighteen in the sixth concession of the township—not far from the site of the present village of Galetta, on the Mississippi. In the late winter of 1823-1824, the whole family came down from Perth, where they had lived for upwards of two years. Following the Sheriff settlement at Fitzroy Harbour, to which some reference is made in the sketch of Thomas Macqueen, the Forbes family came next in order into the township. Early in 1824 came Andrew Dickson, bringing with him his young bride Elizabeth, a daughter of John Forbes, the marriage having been performed on the third day of March, 1824, by the Rev. William Bell, the pioneer Presbyterian missionary of the Perth settlement. The Dicksons set up their home on the east half of the Forbes lot, and after making the necessary preparations to receive them, his father's family came to Fitzroy also, where they made their permanent home.

So ended for a time Andrew Dickson's work as a home-maker, and, for the immediate years, his efforts were those of a home-builder, directed towards bringing some measure of continued comfort to his own people and surroundings, so vastly different from their old life in Perthshire. Short as was comparatively the residence of Andrew Dickson in Fitzroy, his qualities soon began to claim some public recognition. Herman Landon, the son of a United Empire Loyalist, who had settled along the St. Lawrence in the township of Augusta, after the Revolution, came to Fitzroy in the Autumn of 1824, and erected a small gristmill on the River Carp, not far from its confluence with the Ottawa in the neighbourhood of Fitzroy Harbour—the first and for many years the only mill of its kind in the township. Squire Landon, as he was called in later years, was the oldest magistrate in Fitzroy, and a member of the Bathurst District Court of Quarter Sessions. Under its powers the Court established for the townships of Fitzroy

and Torbolton the first Court of Requests—the precursor of the Division Court of our own day. In the Commission authorizing this Court of Requests, “Squire” Landon is named as Chairman, and his associates are designated as Andrew Dickson of Fitzroy, and John Buchan, of Torbolton, who was the first settler to purchase land in the last named township.

Before the narrative turns from the life of the Dicksons in Fitzroy, the incident of the lost darning needle illustrates in graphic manner the circumscribed life of these pioneers, when simple happenings so trivial in themselves sometimes almost spelled disaster for a neighbourhood. At the time of which this is written there was but one of these needles in the township. Many homes there were whose darning and mending depended upon the safety of this little household convenience, and darning and mending were the pioneers’ devices for saving the expense of new clothes. It passed from one shanty and log house to another, following the convenient rule that each housewife could have its use for a day once in each three or four weeks. Another could not be procured, except on a special visit to the District Town of Perth, and that was nearly sixty miles away. But there came a day when the needle was lost. The neighbours were summoned and informed. The usual sniffs and glances, mixed with cheerful encouragement and friendly words, came from among the half-dismayed women as they gathered to discuss the calamity. Mrs. Dickson had lost the needle while on a visit to Squire Landon’s grist mill, and it must be somewhere along the way. And so the neighbourhood turned out—the women, the boys, the girls, for the men were mostly absent from the settlement engaged elsewhere, as was the custom, gaining by other means of livelihood what yet the partially cleared farms could hardly yield. And just as the quest seemed almost useless and the most persevering ready to quit, the sharp eyes of a little girl rescued the precious darning needle from a trodden tuft of grass, and there was general rejoicing in the settlement.

This incident calls up an interview given many years later to a local newspaper by the widow of Andrew Forbes, who, as Margaret Howe in her younger days, was one of the

early brides among Fitzroy's early marriages. Coming with her people from Scotland, residing at Perth for a time, she lived for a year or two as housekeeper for her brothers James and John.

"In the spring of 1823," she says "James and John went to Brockville to earn the price of a cow and a yoke of oxen, leaving me at home to manage the farm. Harvest time came, but we were at a loss to know how it was to be garnered. There were none of your improved implements in those days—not even a sickle or any kind of handy tool. And so it fell to my lot to go to Shipman's Mills (now Almonte) and procure them. The forest was fearfully dense between our place and the mills and the path through a remarkably narrow one. I was obliged to carry a lighted torch as protection from the mosquitoes. Having secured a couple of sickles from Mr. Gemmill, who kept a store where Almonte now stands, I started on the return trip home. I got within four miles of Pakenham when it became late and dark, and I went into a little shanty occupied by Mr. and Mrs. Bowes. They declared I must remain with them over night, as wolves and bears were so numerous, it was dangerous to be out after dark. I reached home next day about noon."¹

But the quiet life of the farm was not sufficient to engage the energetic and restless activity of Andrew Dickson, and he turned to other things. The progress of Harvey's Rapids had been slow. Settlers came late into Pakenham. The country along the river was densely wooded and Harvey's Mills was as yet hidden in the wilderness of the forest. With the eye of enterprise, Dickson in 1831 bought out the Harvey-Powell interests—if interests they could be called—and acquired as well Hume's little store. Ere long the place took on a business air, for almost concurrently came other and various settlers. The country was filling on the one side towards Shipman's Mills, and on the other in the direction of the estate of Chief MacNab, while easterly Fitzroy was adding to its quota—all creating an environment that meant a growth and rising prosperity for the place. Nor did the new proprietor shrink from any exertions necessary to secure comfort and advancement for himself and his family, and "Dickson's Mills," as the place was now called, took its real emergence from the

obscurity with which the dense and towering pine forests, clothing the hills in this locality in those days, had heretofore held in thrall the struggling hamlet. Prosperity soon waited on the village and in the next ten years or so somewhat remarkable progress was accomplished. Dickson's Mills began also to have a steady periodical mail service, so giving a connection with the greater world outside. The proprietor became the first postmaster. A sawmill also added to the industrial activity, and as the years went on the manufacture of lumber grew into rather extended proportions, for nowhere in Upper Canada could be found more splendid forests of white pine than those which towered in lordly splendour above the hills of Pakenham.

During the decade after his coming to Pakenham, Andrew Dickson rapidly became the leading figure in the township, infusing new life into the mercantile and milling pursuits in the village by his enterprise in these fields. Following also a common business custom of the time, a shop license for the sale of spirituous liquors, in 1835 and the following years, stood in his name. Long before the passing of the Act Respecting Municipal Institutions, and under the rather restrictive measures then in force, many townships in Upper Canada had various forms of organizations for the mutual protection of the property of inhabitants and the advancement of public services, simple as they were, but none the less necessary. On the 4th of January, 1836, a meeting of the freeholders of Pakenham was duly called for the selection of three Commissioners who should, under the Justices of the Quarter Sessions, have the general direction of township affairs. At the close the poll stood:

Andrew Dickson, 61; Hugh Dickson, 53, James Scott, Jr., 50, Andrew Dickson, Jr., Clerk.

The clerk was a cousin of the proprietor of the mills, educated at Edinburgh for the Church, but, coming to Canada, lived for a while as bookkeeper at the "Mills," and later spending some years in teaching, commonly known in the settlement as "Dominie Dickson."

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

As only occasional glimpses can be given of the growth and development of the village that presently gave its leading man to be the third Sheriff of the District of Bathurst, the story must now be hurried into the eventful days of the Union of the Provinces.

At the Annual Town Meeting on January 6th, 1840, one of the few occasions when a representative gathering ever assembled, the inhabitants addressed a message of congratulation to the Right Honourable Charles Poulett Thompson, "Governor-General of Her Majesty's Colonies of British North America," more familiarly known as Lord Sydenham. The address is quite characteristic of the time. It offers a greeting to the new Governor, as was the custom throughout the country upon occasions of this kind; it fails not at the same time to remind His Excellency that there are grievances crying out for speedy redress.

"Pakenham Mills, Jan. 6th, 1840.

"We, the local inhabitants of the township of Pakenham in the Bathurst District, beg leave to congratulate Your Excellency on your arrival among us, and your success in giving confidence to the British Constitutionalists by the measures brought forward by Your Excellency doing us ample justice, an earnest of which, in the truly British principles expressed in the despatch of Lord John Russell of date October 16th last, the prints of which are already apparent in the able support of which Your Excellency's measures have received from the officers of the Crown in this Province, and which we trust they will continue to give and thereby act in harmony with the wishes and feelings of the people.

"We likewise rejoice to see that Her Majesty has withheld her Royal assent from the Clergy Reinvestment Bill, as Your Excellency justly observes that the Provincial Legislature must have more correct information as to the wants and general opinions of society in this country than the Imperial Parliament, and we feel confident, if the people of this Province were appealed to by a dissolution of Parliament, Your Excellency's views on this vital subject would be fully borne out.

"We would further wish to address Your Excellency on that all-important subject of education, which we are sorry to say is in a deplorable state, more especially in this and newly

settled portions of the country, whole townships being without a school, and it is our settled conviction that the Clergy Reserves, that bone of contention, could not be more wisely applied than for the purposes of general education.

"We would further suggest to Your Excellency the propriety of lowering the price of Crown Lands, so as to induce British emigrants to settle in our own colony in place of the United States.

"ANDREW DICKSON.

And signed by 80 others of the Township of Pakenham."²

In the month of September it was clearly evident that Andrew Dickson was looked upon as of more than usual quality. Another general meeting of the community, which apparently extended beyond the bounds of Pakenham, expressed the opinion that their Representatives in Parliament, living at Perth and so far away, exhibited little interest in these distant and scattered sections of the District. Andrew Dickson was "nominated to represent the people in the coming election." Of course it could really be only an expression of opinion. Its unanimity, however, is seen in the fact that while the people's nominee was a Scotsman and a pronounced Reformer or Liberal, the secretary of the meeting was an Irishman and a Tory, James Connery by name, who, as well as his son, served for two generations as successive clerks of the Township Municipality.

The village that Andrew Dickson might now claim as his creation was briefly described by a traveller, who, in January, 1841, sent his sketches to the Bathurst *Courier* for publication:

"Pakenham Village, about twelve miles from the Chatts (sic) and thirty-eight from Perth, is a place that has advanced more in the last twelve months than I might say all the other places in my sketches put together. During that time more than a dozen new houses have been erected and a Presbyterian Church completed, in which divine service is regularly held by the Rev. Mr. Mann, who has recently been ordained. Andrew Dickson, the enterprising proprietor of Pakenham Mills, has built a large and splendid two-storey dwelling in connection with other buildings putting up at his expense. There has been another tavern opened here by a Mrs. McFarlane.

Having built a large frame house last season, she has been enabled to give the traveller comfortable, I might say, stylish, accommodation. But in talking of the widow's, I must not forget my old friend and servant of the public, Mr. McAdam, who still keeps tavern in his old stand, and studies to please and accommodate in his usual obliging and affable way. The village of Pakenham is a lively, stirring place, with Mr. Dickson's mills, and takes life from his enterprise. The place is not only thriving, but singularly beautiful. The farmers around are tasty and prosperous."

On the passing of the District Councils Bill of 1841, elections for township representatives to the Council at Perth were held in January of the following year. Andrew Dickson, it is needless to add, became the Councillor for Pakenham. A report of the election appearing in the press at the time is of interest here:

"Meeting of several inhabitants of Pakenham, previous to electing a Councillor under the new law, held at the request of Alex. McVicar, Esq., Thos. Elliot was in the chair and the meeting was addressed by George Parker, James Patterson, Andrew Dickson and David Ogilvie, the last named proposing Andrew Dickson, Esquire, as a fit and proper person to act as Councillor for the township. The day of election having arrived, the people began to crowd in from all corners of the township. Alex. McVicar, Esq., being appointed chairman of the day and the Township Clerk, Mr. Connery, seated beside him, proceeded to execute the business of the day. Mr. Dickson being again nominated, rose and explained to the people and the chair, the course of policy he intended to pursue. Mr. James Scott, a wealthy neighbour, who was also present at our preparatory meeting, was nominated, and remarked that as his friends had invited him to come forward, choosing rather to elect a farmer, that he was willing to grant them his services, if they saw fit to elect him. The poll being then opened, the contest began with a brisk run on the side of Mr. Scott. But the number of voters who appeared to know what public interest was, soon decided the question and made way for Mr. Dickson, our Councillor, who delivered an appropriate address by way of thanks to his supporters. Our school commissioners were then chosen and the rest of the business expeditiously executed. Then began the pleasures

of the day. A sleigh was fitted out loaded with banners prepared for the occasion, upon which our worthy Councillor was borne through the village, whilst other sleighs followed with their streamers floating in the air, bearing their different mottoes of agriculture and enterprise. After landing our newmade Councillor at his own door, amongst the cheers of the people which rent the air, he invited them into his house, where they partook of a dinner which was prepared for those who felt their appetites sharpened by such exercises. The banners being planted all along the front of the house, the whole party moved in and soon began to show their dexterity in the use of the knife and fork, while Mr. Dickson's own family vied with each other in waiting on the party. After dinner Mr. Dickson thanked the people for the good order they observed throughout the day, when all retired amidst peace and harmony."³

And the village was not without its expression of gaiety, and even frivolity. The new councillor does not appear to have been present at "the first soiree in Pakenham," which, nevertheless, remained as an event long remembered throughout the countryside. In the spring of 1842 a most energetic committee set to work, without any definite financial object except a sufficient charge to meet the general attendant expense. A nominal admission fee of 25 cents was fixed, and tickets, made of pasteboard and stamped "Soiree," were sold in the village and around the country. The upstairs of the old Carding Mill, then managed by Charles Royce, was the scene of the festivity, which was effectively decorated and transformed for the occasion. It was a hall filled to overflowing. Tea, coffee, bread and butter, cakes of a variety, nuts and raisins passed around, having provided a generous supper, Andrew Russell took the chair. The programme was long and varied. Speeches were given by William Tait, Richard Davie, an old Scots tailor and clerk of the Division Court, John Brown, the village tanner, and William Docherty, a shoemaker who later lost his eyesight in a blasting accident and conducted a singing school in later years, convulsed the audience by his witty speech, entitled "A Search for a Wife." Shipman's band from Shipman's Mills discoursed sweet music.

The rule of the night, as declared by the chairman, ran that every member of the Committee must make a speech or sing a song. Here the "Poet Quigley," an Irishman from Fitzroy, and some three or four miles down the river, produced one of his masterpieces, describing a neighbouring settler:

"You may not know Burley,
For he wears borrowed clothes,
But enquire for the man
With the drop at his nose.

"Burley is poor, and
Needs some support,
And if you are his friend
Bring him some pork."

The Imagist School of Poetry, offering its first published collection in March, 1914, put forward a rule which it is clear the rural bard of Fitzroy well understood seventy years before:

"To use the language of common speech, but to employ always the *exact* word, not the nearly exact, not the merely decorative word."

Peace to the ashes of old Tom Quigley!⁴

One other reference to his life in Pakenham is necessary before the Sheriff's duties were assumed. The Rev. Alexander Mann was ordained by the Presbytery of Aberdeen on the 14th of May, 1840, and almost immediately came to Canada and on to Pakenham settlements. In the village early services had been conducted by missionaries of all denominations, at first in the mill and later in a schoolhouse that stood at the foot of the "Auld Kirk Hill." With prompt energy the new minister organized a kirk session, and began to dispense among his people the ordinances of the Presbyterian faith. The first important work was the building of a church. The site was donated by Andrew Dickson and the "Auld Kirk Hill," crowned in early days by lofty pines overlooking a beautiful view down the picturesque windings of the Mississippi, was a tribute worthy of the pastor and of the generosity of the donor. A frame church was built. The subscriptions were small, but \$20 from men who scarcely handled a dollar for months



OLD KIRK AT PAKENHAM
St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Built in 1838



together, was a liberal gift. Friends in Scotland gave assistance. Soon a frame building with a tower, all set on a stone foundation, looked out sentinel-like over the village. It was named St. Andrew's. But on an unhappy day in 1846, when only four years had passed, the church was reduced to ashes from a fire commencing in a house close by. A stone church succeeded, and for forty years and over the Rev. Dr. Mann continued in the care of his spiritual charge. In any event, the village so fostered by Dickson's enterprise was growing apace. Writing of the place in April, 1847, Thomas Macqueen gives a short, but informing, description.

"The village contains a number of neat, substantial houses, whose very appearance indicate a superior degree of both taste and comfort. At present there are four respectable merchants' shops, three taverns, three commodious places of worship, a flourmill, a sawmill, a tannery, a very extensive and superior carding, fulling and cloth-dressing establishment, with a number of almost every description of useful tradesmen in the village."⁵

By an Act of the Parliament of Upper Canada, passed in 1837, it was provided in effect that when, upon the erection of a gaol and Court House, the increase of assessments and of population should satisfy the Governor, a new District, to be called Dalhousie, should be created by taking parts of the Districts of Bathurst, Johnstown and Ottawa. The time for its creation had come. On the 19th of March, 1842, a Proclamation issued creating the townships of Nepean, Goulbourn, March, Huntley, Torbolton and Fitzroy, in the District of Bathurst; North Gower and Marlborough in Johnstown and Gloucester and Osgoode, in Ottawa, a separate and Distinct District by the name Dalhousie. When Districts were abolished these townships became the present County of Carleton, with Bytown, now grown into Ottawa, as the county capital. For two years more the townships of Montague, North Elmsley and North Burgess continued to remain as they had so far been, still a part of the District of Johnstown. All the rest of the County of Lanark as it is to-day, and all the County of Renfrew, made up the District of Bathurst in 1842 when Andrew Dickson came into the office of Sheriff.

It was a time when multiplicity of officers in one hand was not a transgression either of law or propriety. On the 10th of September, 1842, the Governor appointed Andrew Dickson, of Pakenham, to be the Registrar of the County of Renfrew—a new County, by the way, following the division of the Province upon the Act of Union—and naming Pakenham as the place for keeping the Registry Office. This township had been included in the area of the new County of Renfrew. This office the Sheriff held for about three years.

In September of the next year he was named as a magistrate for Pakenham in the new Commission of the Peace, dated August 10th, 1843—a man with many posts. A magistrate in Pakenham, Registrar of Deeds for Renfrew, Bathurst District Councillor, Sheriff. Since 1835 also he was a Commissioner of the Court of Requests in his adopted township, an office that passed out with the creation of Division Courts in 1842.

As Sheriff he was not so much in demand as were his predecessors in the forced sales of the lands and goods of bankrupts or of judgment debtors. In days past the columns of the *Courier* were full of notices of Sheriff's sales. Their absence was largely the result of more settled and progressive conditions in the community and the passing of a type of individual who looked upon law and litigation as a ready and all-powerful remedy. Observers in some quarters set down the result to the action of Temperance Societies. The Committee of the Bathurst District Total Abstinence Union, in designating the dates of their meetings in the spring of 1846, gave an example of their work with reference to the locality of Motherwell's school. "Temperance has worked wonders here. For the last two or three years the Sheriff and the lawyer have found nothing to do." But a variety of abuses demanded the Sheriff's attention. The old custom of the "Charivari" was one of the most insistent. The *Courier* in its issue of July 21st, 1846, sums up the situation in Perth. It was a practice well known also in the larger places, and often gave considerable concern to public officers:

"On Thursday night last, in defiance of the authorities, a band of lawless ruffians, masked and disguised, paraded our streets and proceeded to the house of Mr. Elisha Drew (who

had lately been married) and demanded a certain amount of money from him. Mr. Drew, a respectable and peaceable inhabitant, refused, whereupon he was struck down with a club, and is now under medical treatment and in a precarious state. A young man in his employ was also wounded. The gang next went to the house of John Ferguson, and there demand was met by payment. It being the dead of the night and no protection at hand, Mr. Ferguson thought it the easiest way to be rid of these outlaws. The worst of it is, that money extorted in this way is used for a drunken revel at some tavern."

This incident caused a notice to appear at once in the *Courier*, signed by Andrew Dickson, Sheriff, upon the requisition of Mr. McDonnell and others, calling a public meeting at the Court House for the 25th July, "to take into consideration the expediency of adopting means whereby the barbarous and illegal custom of charivarying, which in this neighbourhood has of late been outrageously practised and intolerably prevalent, may be efficiently suppressed."

The meeting was called. The Sheriff was chairman. Resolutions were passed deploring the outrages and pledging the meeting to sustain the magistrates and other officers of justice in their endeavour to suppress the custom and in bringing all who are known to have taken recent part in it, or that may hereafter so act, to merited punishment.

His political views and unfailing attachment to personal friends are curiously and rather humourously illustrated in these years in the report of a famous trial at Brockville between two of the leading political figures of the District of Bathurst. At the Assizes for the District of Johnstown, in April, 1845, the Honourable William Morris, Perth's first merchant, the first Member of Parliament for the District, and later a Member of the Legislative Council, took an action for libel against Malcolm Cameron, who was then and later one of the best-known public men in Upper Canada. The differences begun on the eve of the election in 1828, when "a slanderous printed address was circulated in the County of Lanark over the Signature of James Robertson, and calculated to injure Mr. Morris' public as well as private character." Some corres-

pondence indicated that Cameron was perhaps the author. From time to time Morris complained of other and later libellous writings over various names, but all ascribed to Cameron's authorship—hence the action. It is to be remembered also that Morris was a High Tory, a Family Compact man, and Cameron a Radical and a Reformer and the bitter enemy of all the establishments.

The report of the trial is taken from the *Brockville Statesman*.⁶

"Mr. Draper stated the case to the jury in a very able and eloquent speech, which occupied over three hours in the delivery.

"The following evidence was then given:

"Andrew Dickson, Esq., sworn and examined by Mr. Draper—Is Sheriff of the Bathurst District—knows the handwriting of the defendant (here the manuscript of the alleged libel was produced by counsel and put into the hands of witness). Believes it to be the handwriting of the defendant. Cannot say that he knows it to be his handwriting.

"Question by Mr. Draper—I ask you again, Mr. Dickson, if you do not *know* that paper to be the handwriting of the defendant?

"Witness—I will not answer that question. I think I might incriminate myself if I did. I would, perhaps, leave myself liable to a criminal prosecution.

"Mr. Draper—Look over the writing again, and say if you have any reason to doubt that it is the defendant's handwriting.

"Witness—I think the heading does not look like his handwriting. Has no doubt but that the body of the article is his handwriting. Some of the interlineations may not be—cannot say if there is any other handwriting in it—has his doubts. Will not swear positively whose handwriting it is.

"Mr. Draper—Did you not see the defendant write it?

"Witness—My lord, I refuse to answer that question.

"Judge—Why do you refuse to answer it, Mr. Dickson?

"Witness—Because it might lead me into difficulty. Cannot say if he ever saw the paper before—he might have seen it.

"Mr. Draper—Was it not at one time delivered to you by the defendant?

"Witness—I must refuse to answer that question from a belief in my mind that I might subject myself to a criminal prosecution.

"Mr. Draper—Did you ever hear the defendant say he wrote it? (Declines to answer). Has the defendant ever spoken to you about the subject of that paper? (Witness refuses to answer.) Did he never tell you he was the author of the letter published in the Bathurst *Courier* and signed Q.P.Q.? (Witness refused to answer).

"Judge—Mr. Dickson, I can suffer no further evasions. I cannot allow it. All witnesses must be treated alike. You must answer all proper questions where they do not implicate yourself; and I cannot see that what was said by the defendant can in any way lead to your criminality.

"Witness—My lord, there are many ways of implicating a witness.

"Mr. Draper—Did you never hear the defendant speak of it as his own composition—his own production?

"Witness—I do not recollect any particular time.

"Judge—Never mind the time, Mr. Dickson; you are not asked that.

"Witness—My lord, I have had a thousand conversations with Mr. Cameron about the matter.

"Mr. Draper—Do you recollect any of the particulars which passed between you at any of the conversations?

"Witness—Can't say that I do.

"Mr. Draper—What! Not a word!

"Witness—Not that I recollect.

"Mr. Draper—You may go down, Mr. Dickson, perhaps you will recollect yourself and I will recall you.

"Andrew Dickson, Esq., recalled and examined by Mr. Draper.

"In all the conversations you had with Mr. Cameron, did he ever allude to himself as being the author of the article signed Q.P.Q.?

"Thinks there was a marked reservation when speaking upon the subject.

"The same question was again repeated.

"Witness—I cannot call to memory any allusion made by him to me! I have received letters from him!

"Mr. Draper—Will you swear that you have no knowledge that the defendant is the author?

"Witness—I cannot swear that.

"Judge—Did Mr. Cameron at any time desire you to have it published in the *Bathurst Courier*?

"I cannot say that he did, my lord.

"Mr. Draper—From anything the defendant said to you, do you know the article was published in the *Bathurst Courier*?

"It may have been published by his consent.

"Question—Can you say, upon your oath, whether it was, or was not, published with his consent?

"Answer—Possibly it might have been published with my consent.

"Question—Do you know if the defendant assented to its being put into any person's hands for publication?

"Answer—I am not aware from his conversations that he knew of the publication.

"Question—Did he say anything to you about the publication signed Q.P.Q.?

"Answer—I recollect nothing, but what might criminate myself.

"Question—Did you ever hear the defendant say it was to be published?

"Answer—I cannot say that I did.

"Question—Now, on your oath, Mr. Dickson, cannot you say that he assented to the publication?

"Answer—I am at a loss to give an answer, lest it should lead me into trouble.

"The jury retired and remained in consultation about two hours, after which they returned into Court and found a verdict for the defendant.

"Judge—Gentlemen, may I ask if your verdict has been founded upon your opinion of discredit being attached to any part of the evidence?

"Jury—No, my lord.

"Judge—It is to be hoped your example will not be followed by other juries.

At the general Quarter Sessions of the Peace held on the 5th, 6th, and 7th of January, 1847, the Sheriff had an unusual array of offenders. One of the magistrates, Alexander Fraser, was being prosecuted for criminal libel. He went on the Bench as usual, but was induced to step down while his brother magistrates decided whether or not he should be sent

over to the assizes. They held against him and that he must give bail. Fraser refused. A bench warrant issued and the Sheriff arrested him.

The next day Daniel McMartin, a well-known lawyer of Perth at the time, appeared for Fraser on the ground that the warrant of arrest was illegal, as it was issued by the Clerk of the Peace without a seal. McMartin, in the course of his argument, boldly told the Chairman of the Court that he did not know what he was talking about. Asked to apologize, he refused, and upon order the Sheriff arrested him also, but his later apology brought his release.

Fraser came up next day, but still refused to furnish bail. Proceeding to leave the Court, the Sheriff stopped him, when a smile went round and Fraser offered to bludgeon some of the bystanders. He was promptly lodged in gaol, but later, consenting to give bail, he was released.

Charges were next made against McDonald, the Clerk of the Court. The clerk then brought charges against the Chairman of Sessions. A trial was had with the Sheriff as chief witness, resulting in a judgment against McDonald and a demand on the Government, whose right it was at the time, to appoint a clerk more competent and worthy.

The Fraser case came on for trial in the fall, when he was fined £5 for libelling the magistrates. The Sheriff, however, on an action taken against him by Fraser for false arrest over the unsealed warrant, suffered a verdict of £25, which the *Courier* says "was given by a Tory jury." It is all so characteristic of the time. "I'll have the law on ye" was the common and ready cry. In the military settlements in particular the courts had become the ready substitute for the sword.

A great variety of activities during the next three or four years illustrates the Sheriff's interest in the life of Perth and of his District. The memorable year 1849 found plenty of angry discussion all over Upper Canada, and the District of Bathurst contributed its share. The history of the time is familiar. The Rebellion Losses Bill raised the usual antagonisms of race and creed, resulting in grave and gratuitous insults to Lord Elgin, the Governor-General, and in the burn-

ing of the Parliament Buildings, as a result of mob-violence, in the city of Montreal. Each political party blamed the other. As Sheriff, Andrew Dickson experienced his full share of the controversy. At a meeting at Perth, over which he presided, held in January, a strong protest was offered against any recognition of claims for losses by Lower Canadians, sustained in the Rebellion of 1837, for the meeting

“feel themselves called upon to express their disapprobation of unconstitutional attempts upon the part of any Colonial Ministry to trifle with the feelings and rights of the inhabitants of Canada West.”

In respect to a resolution of this texture, the Sheriff was more likely following his duty rather than his inclination. On May 5th another meeting was held, when an address was prepared and forwarded to Lord Elgin reciting that “the inhabitants of Bathurst District feel bound to stand by Your Excellency in the maintenance of public order, the rights of the Legislature, and for the protection of your person.” An amendment, adding a note censuring the Governor for his recognition of the Rebellion Losses Bill, was supported by “Fraser, Playfair, Tennant and the Tories” and voted down by “Radenhurst, Buell, Doran and the Reformers.” If the Sheriff were free to express his views, he doubtless would have been found opposing the amendment also.

The incidents of 1849 found echo in the church circles around Andrew Dickson's home. In the townships of Pakenham and Fitzroy the first resident missionary of the Church of England was the Rev. Hannibal Mulkins. At a time when, as he said, “146 Christian ministers of various denominations” addressed Lord Elgin in approval of his course, Mr. Mulkins wrote a series of letters to the *Courier* clearly pointing out that the Rebellion Losses Bill made no provision for rebels. The real controversy was in quite another field, but a familiar field—the question again of Responsible Government. His Excellency took the only course possible. The Rev. Hannibal Mulkins was a man of high ideals, scholarly, capable, sincere. He brought to these settlements in the backwoods the learning and culture of an older land and the untiring zeal of a talented

and hard-working missionary, forsaking what otherwise might have been a life of ease for the advancement of spiritual ideals in the life of the colony. Immediately on the publication of the letters Mr. Mulkins himself became the subject of a heated controversy. The Ultra-Loyalists of Fitzroy and Pakenham met and passed resolutions addressed to Bishop Strachan, requesting the rector's removal from the incumbency. The report went abroad that the churches here "are notable for their empty benches," so great was the defection. The Bishop asked an apology for "a passing indiscretion," but indicated also that the rector "has not wilfully compromised his duty in the cause of order." The *Transcript* of Montreal severely criticized the *Courier* letters, and Mr. Mulkins replied to the Loyalist editor, in a slashing article appearing in the *New York Tribune*:

"My being a clergyman can be no good reason for remaining quiet, when you or your confreres, or both, were stimulating faction to violence, calling on the people to arm, applauding them for insulting the Queen's representative and resorting to every device for corrupting the masses and leading them into rebellion. Had I joined as flagitious and licentious a press as Christendom can exhibit in this crusade, to insult an innocent man for doing an honourable and constitutional act, then all would have been right, and, instead of being vilified, I should have been applauded from one end of Canada to the other You really wish that I may 'suffer' for having expressed my opinion publicly on this measure. The party which you have goaded on to destruction neither use nor understand any other argument. If a person differs with them in opinion, make him 'suffer.' If you cannot meet him with facts and arguments, if intellectually you quail before him, then with brute force strike down the man! If you cannot reach the man, it will be delicious satisfaction to burn down the public buildings and consume books with fire! But, oh! how gloriously sweet the revenge to burn the man himself in effigy. Henceforth the civilization of Montreal will not be disputed. It will bear comparison with Hochelaga when, some four hundred years ago, its waters teemed with the canoes of the aboriginal braves, and its plains were proudly trod by the red warriors of America."

The Rev. Hannibal Mulkins could not, of course, remain in Pakenham. The resignation of the charge was followed by his appointment, in December, 1850, as chaplain to the Penitentiary at Kingston, and he and Andrew Dickson had presently many opportunities for meeting and conference over matters in which they were soon to have a common interest.

But meetings, other than political, claimed a share of the Sheriff's time and favour. It is strange, but true, that Perth, with its pretence to a larger importance, both in the quality and attainments of many of the inhabitants, and a certain consequent superiority over the surrounding townships, was behind in the effort to satisfy intellectual needs. While the Library in Dalhousie and another in Ramsay were, even in the twenties and thirties, being eagerly consulted by many readers, no such institution existed in the District Town until 1848, when a Public Library was instituted. An effort in this direction made years before only ended in failure. At the first annual meeting, held on January 2nd, 1849, Lord Elgin consented to become the patron and Andrew Dickson the vice-president for the ensuing year. He also made several appearances before the Mechanics' Institute, speaking on "Man" and "Woman," and dealing with subjects otherwise of interest in the domain of education. One of his favorite topics was geology, in which he was always deeply interested—more interested at times than his audience, for the boys who attended his lectures and whose curiosity he had awakened by inducing them to study, often indulged in idle laughter over the complex and difficult names of the science. In a lecture on the carboniferous period the Sheriff stated that there was no coal in the Canadas. At the close, a witty little Scots weaver disputed the statement, to the no small annoyance of the lecturer, who, after much discussion, finally asked where the coal was to be found. The wily critic now had his audience so interested that when he replied "I hae a hunk o't in my kist," a roar of laughter followed in which the surprised and half-annoyed Sheriff generously joined.

An unusual event in the District of Bathurst occurred in the last year of Andrew Dickson's tenure of office. On December 8th, 1850, the body of William Barry, a plasterer

by trade, and unmarried, living in the Township of Admaston some distance west of the village of Renfrew, was found lying across his bed in his house, and his skull broken, evidently with an axe. Suspicion at once fastened on Francis Beare and his wife, who lived with Barry, and who were apparently attempting to flee the country. Two days later the culprits were in the Sheriff's hands and lodged in the Perth jail. The trial came on, before Mr. Justice Draper and a jury, at the Perth Assizes, on the 30th April, 1851. The woman had confessed, thereby incriminating her husband and indicating that her own life was in jeopardy too. She was discharged and Beare sentenced to be hanged. The second execution in the District was reported in the *Courier* on Friday, May 23rd:

"On Saturday morning last, at about half-past ten o'clock, Francis Beare, the murderer of William Barry, suffered the last penalty of the law by public execution in front of the Court House. The unfortunate culprit, with his arms pinioned, clothed in a white gown and cap, ascended the platform in front of the gallows with a firm foot. He had received the last rites of the Roman Catholic Church that morning from the Very Rev. J. H. McDonagh, and was accompanied on the platform by that reverend gentleman, as well as by the Rev. E. Vaughan, of Ramsay, and the Rev. Dr. Maddon, of Trent. He knelt down in supplication and repeated in a firm voice the prayers of the Church, after which he cast a glance at the crowd before him, but said not a word. He took his position under the gallows and his doom was sealed. In a few minutes, after a few convulsive struggles, all was over. The body hung for about an hour, when it was lowered into a rough box and conveyed for interment to the Roman Catholic burying ground. He was a man of about five feet, six inches height, with rather a slight frame, delicate complexion and youthful appearance, about twenty-five years of age and a French-Canadian. He was very ignorant and his intellect of the lowest order. Since the trial and before the execution he confessed having committed the murder—that he struck two blows instead of one—but insisted till the last that his wife had urged him to do it. There was a large number of people present at the execution, and (how amiable, how consistent with the tender feelings of the other sex) a large number of respectably dressed females on the ground to witness

the sad spectacle. This is the second execution that has taken place since the establishment of Courts of Justice in this District—a period of about thirty years.”

From Pakenham, as early as the fourth of December, 1849, the Rev. Hannibal Mulkins addressed the Honourable Malcolm Cameron, then Assistant Commissioner of Public Works, in the second Baldwin-Lafontaine Government, relative to the Wardenship of the Provincial Penitentiary at Kingston:

“When I was in Kingston last September, I learned that the appointment of the present incumbent to that office was temporary and that the Government was in no way pledged to its continuance. I had before heard the Sheriff of this District mentioned in connection with that office. I trust you will not consider me obtrusive when I state that the conclusion to which I have come is that the Sheriff of this District is the person who should fill that office. I have some knowledge of public men in Canada, having watched events pretty closely since 1828. I am personally acquainted with a number of the leading men of both parties, and I hesitate not to aver that there are few men so well qualified in all respects as he to take charge of such an institution. It is true Mr. Dickson makes no pretension to a classical or even a finished English education, but those who know him must admit that few people in Canada surpass him in general information. He has already devoted a good deal of reading and reflection to institutions of this kind, and especially to the study of the character of such persons as will be most likely to be sent there. He is a person of great vigilance and perseverance and little disposed to believe that corporal suffering is a remedy for mental infirmity.”

In the early spring of 1852 Andrew Dickson was appointed to the wardenship of the Penitentiary, and as a joint inspector with Dr. Nelson set about a special report under a plan of Government to review the situation, having in mind the application of a variety of prison reforms.

On the 2nd of March, 1852, Andrew Dickson and Dr. Nelson were appointed “to inquire into the discipline and pecuniary management of the several jails throughout the Province.” They reported in November, showing visits to twenty-

one institutions and finding little or no discipline or classification of prisoners. Ventilation and sanitation were almost unknown. Hamilton jail, in the centre of the wealthiest section of the Province, had, in 1851, 419 persons, only tubs for water-closets, the prisoners were covered with vermin and six people day and night were shut up in one cell. Males and females are separated, but they can converse freely. Toronto is better, but has many faults. Religious services are obliterated by the congregate system. There is no uniformity in rations. What costs 2½d. in Peterboro is exactly six times as much in Prescott and Russell. The gaol surgeon in Lanark received £5 per annum in 1851 for 38 persons. In Haldimand the same officer gets £25 for 34 prisoners—five times as much. The report closes by recommending common jails to be homes of temporary detention only, and Houses of Correction and Penitentiaries for short-sentenced convicts.

On the 17th of April, 1852, the Governor-General appointed James Thompson to be the Sheriff of the United Counties of Lanark and Renfrew, in the place of Andrew Dickson, resigned. The District, too, had vanished, for District divisions were abolished by an Act coming into force on the 1st of January, 1850. James Thompson continued in office through the long term of over sixty years, dying at Perth in October, 1912, at the advanced age of one hundred and two years.

But the late Sheriff could not be allowed to go without some public recognition from his many friends in Perth. On the 23rd of April, in Patterson's Hotel, some forty or fifty friends met Andrew Dickson at dinner, with Murdock McDonnell in the chair, while the band played "The March to the Battlefield." There were many toasts and "Our Guest" was greeted with "long and enthusiastic cheering." Mr. Dickson's reply was characteristic: simple, direct, sincere. Referring to the difficulties attendant upon the office of Sheriff, calculated as it is to create enemies and raise antagonisms, he was not conscious of having lost a friend or made an enemy. He was indebted to the chairman for advice, the magistrates for their co-operation, the bar for their forbearance, and the public for their friendly opinions. Coming thirty years before to these settlements, his whole capital

consisted of a good constitution and a determined will. He had no money—no friends—and but an indifferent education. He was now going to Kingston, where he hoped to carry out many ideas he had long held respecting the reform of criminals. Many became such more from circumstances than from a depraved nature. They had early lost their parents—thrown upon a cold and heartless world—fallen among evil companions and led astray—was it any wonder they became criminals? Prevention was better than cure. The Government had several plans in contemplation by which it was hoped that many who entered the Penitentiary as outcasts of society would be made useful and industrious citizens. He was going away where he trusted he could do good.

For the next six years he lived mostly at Kingston, but he still continued his interest in the public affairs of the township of Pakenham and the District of Bathurst, as occasion offered. In July, 1850, the Governor-General, Lord Elgin, paid a visit to Bytown and the Upper Ottawa. On the 29th of the month the Vice-Regal party travelled over the usual and picturesque route of the period. Leaving the town of Aylmer at eight o'clock in the morning, the little iron steamer *Emerald* carried the visitors to the foot of the Chats Falls on the Ottawa. Here, after a charming view of the beautiful cascades, they enjoyed a drive on the Quebec side of the Ottawa, three miles through the forest, in cars drawn by horses over a private railway owned by two of Bytown's most prominent lumber firms—Egan & Co., and Aumond & Co. Arrived at the quiet water above the Falls, the party again boarded a steamer and reached, at Sand Point, "the elegant mansion of Alex. McDonnell"—the old-time friend of Chief McNab—a little after ten o'clock in the forenoon, an immense concourse from all over the District of Bathurst making the welkin ring as His Excellency came ashore. Among the many addresses presented that day, Andrew Dickson, for the township of Pakenham, hailed with pleasure the Governor's visit, assured him of the brighter epoch at hand in the improvement of navigation

and the commencement of Railways and supported the claims of Bytown for the permanent seat of Government. Fourteen years later, Bytown or Ottawa, became, as all know, the Queen's choice for the Capital.

When Andrew Dickson removed to Kingston he immediately met an old friend in the person of the Rev. Hannibal Mulkins. That one was an Anglican and the other a Presbyterian, even in days when religious differences were so strongly marked, mattered not to them. They were both honest, fearless, sincere characters, and in the convict life around them "hearing oftentimes the still, sad music of humanity." In July, 1853, the annual report of the Inspectors was issued. Andrew Dickson felt compelled to embody his own views in a separate memorandum.

Mr. Mulkins, as chaplain at Kingston, had made every effort to improve the training of the convicts by extending to them, as far as circumstances afforded, some measure of instruction. Adverse criticism finally drove him to defend his ideas in a newspaper controversy. Andrew Dickson, also was driven to dissent from the report which Dr. Nelson desired to present, holding that it should express the desirability of extending education to youthful convicts. Dr. Nelson was ready to endorse the view set forth by the Roman Catholic chaplain in the Report for 1850, "that the effect of too great cultivation of the mind in secular knowledge could be prejudicial" to the prisoners. Mr. Dickson proceeded, by "Stern and undeniable facts," to prove the contrary, showing that ignorance and crime go hand in hand, and that the more complete the education, the less tendency has the individual to commit crime. Statistics, too, undoubtedly supported this view. And, with confidence, it may be added that in establishing a policy then, and in its development since 1850, Andrew Dickson's name stands out as a pioneer in the realm of prison reform. And when it is remembered that to-day a prisoner at Kingston may learn to be a tailor, or printer, or carpenter, or stone-cutter, or a tradesman or artisan in a wide and varied field; that he may have books from a library of nearly 12,000 volumes, including many hundreds of magazines and illustrated prints, and that he may have teaching similar to that

of our common school courses, including the shorthand and business training as well, it is indeed apparent that the bread cast upon the waters by Andrew Dickson is generously returning after many years.

For eight years or so he continued in this office. Here there is nothing noteworthy. In the summer of 1856 he visited the land of his birth, after an absence of thirty-seven years. In passing a note or two may be taken from a very human diary of the journey.

Taking farewell of his family, meeting old friends like Dr. Nelson and one of Ottawa's lumber kings, John Gilmour, on the way, having his will drawn by Mr. Richards, and being served "with a writ in Chancery from Albert Cameron about the lands we hold, one hour before embarking." He sailed from Quebec on the 5th of July.

"*Sunday, 13th*—Beautiful calm morning. Heard a sermon on theology by Mr. Scott, when he contradicted himself very frequently.

"*Friday, 18th*—My friends gave me most warm reception. Felt sorry to see all the old buildings gone, except an old stable. Everything appeared exceedingly small. The distances short—such is the contrast between the old and new world.

"*Wednesday, 23rd*—I called upon my cousin Robert, whom I found a perfect fossil, and blamed me for going to America, and said his father was much vexed at it yet. At the same time the man was as poor as a crow and his wife washing out of doors for eight hours a day. Saw William and wife. They also appeared poor and contented.

"*Saturday, August 9th*—(In London.) Went to Haymarket Street. Saw the noble ladies going into the opera, theatre, etc. Saw the Club House lighted up. All gave proof of immense wealth and numbers and vice of no ordinary kind. I never saw the two extremes combined so before. It is a wise saying: "Give me neither poverty or riches."

He visited many prisons and commented on the systems employed. A visit to Westminster Abbey draws out remarks of satisfaction over respect paid to genius, "yet it is painful to see Lord Byron's name excluded." A rainy, foggy London

called forth the comment: "Don't wonder at people cutting their throats." He landed in Quebec on the homeward voyage on the 9th of September.

So marked was the humanitarian interest shown by Mr. Dickson in convict life, that, in the summer of 1858, when Reformatory Prisons were established, he was sent to organize and superintend the Institution at Isle Aux Noix in the Lower Province, for which his general knowledge and experience in prison discipline eminently qualified him. In congratulating the country on the opening of these establishments, the *Kingston News* reported that Andrew Dickson had left for Isle Aux Noix in late October, having in his charge some forty juvenile offenders taken from Kingston; that he would not allow the young criminals to be shackled or confined in any manner during the journey, relying for security chiefly on their own promise not to attempt escaping, and that such a course "will beget confidence and respect when other and harsher means would have a directly contrary effect." On this little island in the River Richelieu, not far from the American boundary, whither Mrs. Dickson also came, he lived for the most of two years.

In May, 1860, Andrew Dickson gave up his reformatory work, returned to his Pakenham home, and, Cincinnatus-like, continued for the most part the quiet life of the farm, spending here the closing eight years of his life. There are, however, two or three lines of special interest and activity that deserve more than a passing notice. Questions of transportation had always been uppermost in the minds of those who from the earliest settlements had become the inhabitants of the District of Bathurst. The Five Rivers were all more or less broken by repeated rapids and waterfalls. They were all comparatively short in their courses and, with the exception of the Rideau, coming from a rough and hilly hinterland, they never could be rendered navigable for anything except the rafts of timber and logs driven by the early lumbermen along these streams. The Rideau, of course, had been developed into a system of canals. But across the country communication remained slow, and in bad weather almost out of the question, so rough and swampy were even the main highways. By the middle of the

century the possibility of railways was on every tongue, and hopes ran high around the hearth of every shanty in the backwoods. Plank roads for a time held the field and many companies were formed, but few survived. Two or three accomplished something, but never for more than a few miles. When the scheme of the Grand Trunk Railway came to fruition in 1854, Bathurst District rang the changes on a railway from Brockville to the Ottawa River, somewhere at the mouth of the Madawaska, with the idea that, as the country grew, the road might extend to the more distant regions of the Upper Ottawa. The history of the Brockville and Ottawa Railway cannot here be presented. But this, at least, must be written that from its earliest inception, through evil and through good report, and at the outset largely evil, in days of bankruptcy and disappointment, in the face of charges made of wrongful personal interest and of promotion for personal gain, Andrew Dickson, with a determination to accomplish, and an enterprising outlook always undimmed and unshaken, remained an untiring and uncorrupted spokesman for the undertaking. On the 25th of January, 1859, the railway was opened for operation, and the first train went through from Brockville to Perth by Smith's Falls, but not without unusual and exasperating delays. The road was completed from Smith's Falls to Almonte in 1860. Pakenham, Arnprior and the Ottawa River were not reached until the autumn of 1864. To illustrate Mr. Dickson's vision and his expectation of a railway line across the continent, of which the Brockville and Ottawa, west of Carleton Place, was destined some day to form a part, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, of Niagara-on-the-Lake, whose mother was Isabella Dickson, the fourth daughter of the Sheriff and the first wife of John Sweetland, M.D., one of Pakenham's early physicians, and in later years himself Sheriff of the County of Carleton, relates a characteristic incident. At a meeting in Perth, in the days before the Grand Trunk, when the first railway excitement roused these communities, with Colonel A. W. Playfair as a leading exponent of railway needs, Judge Malloch, an old personal friend of the Dickson family, was chairman and Andrew Dickson one of the speakers. He advocated the building of the Grand

Trunk between Montreal and Toronto over the present Canadian Pacific route through central Ontario, passing, of course, through Perth, which was expected to bonus the line. The discussion was producing various hopeful and at times glowing statements of the great future which railway development must give. Mr. Dickson seemed to have laid aside his usual care and was making almost reckless predictions. Mrs. Dickson, being also in town, had retired, when near midnight Judge Malloch burst into her room imploring her to "come and get your man. He has gone clean crazy. He is talking of running a railway from the Atlantic to the Pacific and if you don't come and get him he will be talking about a railway to the moon." Andrew Dickson did not live to see the accomplishment of his prophecy. Not until the morning of the 7th of November, 1885, some seventeen years after his death, did Sir Donald Smith, at Craigellachie, in the Eagle Pass, drive the last spike in the completed construction of the Canadian Pacific as a transcontinental line, carrying in its time-tables the stations of Carleton Place (Morphy's Falls), Almonte (Shipman's Mills), Pakenham (Dickson's Mills), Arnprior (Kinnell Lodge), where in days of old the Scottish Chieftain—The MacNab—entered upon his eventful reign.

Canadian forests and Canadian rocks—the woods of Bathurst District in particular—had an abiding charm for Sheriff Dickson. Apart from his enterprise in re-establishing and extending Harvey's little sawmill, he had carried on from the earliest days a lumbering business at Pakenham. When his appointment came to the Shrievalty of Bathurst, his sawmill and timber berths were taken over by the firm of Hilliard & Dickson, composed of his son William and Daniel Hilliard, his son-in-law, the husband of his daughter Jean, and who came to Pakenham in 1848, first engaging as a merchant in the growing village.

In the Old Parliament of United Canada a resolution of the Legislative Assembly, following a communication in October, 1854, from the Board of Trade in London, prayed the Governor-General "to take the necessary steps to secure

a fitting representation of the products of the country at the World's Exhibition in 1855." The Exhibition was to be held in Paris.

The distinguished geologist, Sir William Logan, was among Mr. Dickson's personal friends. On the Dickson farm at Pakenham there had been opened during the building of the railway a fine quarry of limestone, which even to-day is furnishing material for the development of the highways in the locality, arising out of the growth of the Good Roads Movement. In this quarry he had discovered fossil remains in plenty and of a variety for which the much-coveted Bigsby medal had been founded and granted by the Royal Geological Society of England, while yet, outside of Mr. Dickson's discovery, the fossil was yet almost unknown to the scientific world.

The Exhibition went forward and in the Report, "Canada at the Universal Exhibition of 1855," the catalogue of articles sent from Canada indicate the unusual honours falling to Pakenham's distinguished exhibitor:

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Article Exhibited.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
94—Andrew Dickson	Specimens of wood	There are 64 of these specimens of wood, one half of which have been collected on a superficies of 100 arpents of forest (presumably his own holdings.)
245—Do	Specular iron, 2 samples.	
	Marble Shell marl	
273—Hilliard & Dickson	Sandstone.	

How rich was the endowment in forest products of the region of the Five Rivers, Andrew Dickson's unusual collection disclosed, and it was all the more remarkable in exhibiting the surprising variety of woods that clothed and crowned the valleys and the hills along the course of the Mississippi. At the risk of weariness to the reader the temptation to repeat the names of the collection is irresistible:





MEDALS AWARDED TO ANDREW DICKSON FOR NATIVE WOODS

Andrew Dickson, Sheriff

Whitewood, Lime, Sumack, Common maple, Red maple, waved maple, Birdseye maple, Plane, Wild Yellow Plum, Red Cherry, Black Cherry, Choke Cherry, Flowering Dogwood, Apple Thorn, Red Thorn, White Thorn, Mountain Ash, June Berry, White Ash, Black Ash, Rock Ash, Rim Ash, Sassafras, White Elm, Slippery Elm, Rock Elm, Gray Elm, Butternut (two varieties), Black Walnut, Soft Walnut, Shell Bark Hickory, Smooth Bark Hickory, Pignut, White Oak, Swamp Oak, Red Oak, Black Oak, Chestnut, White Beech, Blue Beech, Ironwood, Canoe Birch, Yellow Birch, Cherry Birch, Black Birch Alder, Black Willow, Aspen Poplar, Large-toothed Aspen, Balm of Gilead, Cottonwood, Butter-wood, Pitch Pine, Red Pine, Yellow Pine, White Pine, Balsam Fir, Hemlock, Spruce, White Spruce, Black Spruce, Tamarack, White Cedar, Red Cedar.

The geological collection, including Andrew Dickson's contributions, came under Sir William Logan, who for this, as also for his Geological Map of Canada, received the Grand Medal of Honor. Andrew Dickson for himself won a medal of the first class for "a collection of timber."

What a really unusual and distinctive exhibit Mr. Dickson had offered is ascertained from this—that he was specially complimented by the Third Emperor of the French. In the front page of his own private copy of the Exhibition Report in French, now in the possession of Mrs. Thompson, there is this English inscription:

"Presented to Andrew Dickson, Esq., by the Emperor Napoleon, as the successful competitor for the best collection of woods at the Paris Exhibition."

Returning to the quiet life of the farm in May of 1860, "the old Sheriff," as he was familiarly and always respectfully called, quietly lived out at Pakenham the remainder of his days. His earlier dwelling had been a small house on the bank of the river near the bridge, a short distance above the mill. By 1840 he built just across the Fitzroy highway a commodious stone two-storey building, serving as a general store below and dwelling above, and which, some time after he assumed the duties of Sheriff, became the residence of his son. On

returning to Pakenham he built a new home in a hollow near where Owen McCarthy lived so long before, and here his later days were spent.

As a public benefactor it was perhaps in his devotion to agriculture that he accomplished most for the general welfare of his own community. He lost no opportunity of speaking and writing on this subject, and by making at all times a considerable outlay in the purchase and importation of live stock and seeds of a variety. By his practical illustrations in the art, as shown, for example, in the erection of a model and extensive barn, excelling in design and effectiveness anything in the country around him, he did much to raise the position and promote the prosperity of the agricultural life of Pakenham. For a time also he had been the President of the County Agricultural Society. And in spite of many destructive fires against which the earlier communities took little care to protect themselves—fires which brought to Mr. Dickson also serious losses as the years went by—the village grew and prospered. The sawmill was always busy. The river all summer long was filled with logs and rafts of square timber owned by Hilliard & Dickson, and others, on their long voyage to markets at Quebec. The woollen industry was strongly represented. Tradesmen, many and various, made up a busy and a prosperous life. The later years brought changes not for the better. With the passing of pioneer industries, through failure or by fire or by removals, the larger promise of Andrew Dickson's village has not been fulfilled.

Notwithstanding his very lively interest in intellectual pursuits, and with never any impairment of his public duties, Sheriff Dickson found time and occasion for many and varied forms of recreation. For years he was a corresponding member of that justly famed and important institution, already noticed in reference to its founding by Lord Dalhousie, The Quebec Historical Society. Like all the earlier and more important among the pioneer citizens of the District, he, too, maintained an acquaintance with the men and movements in Canada's greatest commercial centre, then as now, the City of Montreal, and at



DICKSON'S MILLS—PAKENHAM TO-DAY



DICKSON'S MILLS—THE MILL SITES

the inauguration of the Victoria Tubular Bridge at Montreal, on Saturday, August 25th, 1860, Andrew Dickson was among the invited guests.

Keenly interested in the old Scottish game of curling, not our modern "irons," but the old "stones," sped over the courses of the open rink improvised winter after winter below the falls on the river under the hillside, where, in days past, McCarthy's "Castle" had proudly looked across the bay, while villagers and relatives and grandchildren looked on with eager delight from the hill and the river bank close by. And when the rainy day shut in the landscape, or the stormy night in winter called for the solace of a cheering hour within, a game of chess with a friendly visitor in the happy privacy of the domestic circle filled many a delightful hour, made more hospitable still, after the fashion of the time, with a comfortable glass of toddy.

Powerful of frame, loving life in the open, loving, above all else, when a holiday came, the lure of the hunting camp, Andrew Dickson kept constantly a pack of hounds. At his death, indeed, he is said to have been the owner of over thirty. There were heads and horns of many kinds around the house—trophies won from the forest glades along all the Five Rivers, and won as well from along the tributary rivers of the Ottawa along the other shore. And the hunt would be followed by venison dinners with invitations accepted by old cronies from near and far—Alex. McDonnell of Sand Point, Judge Malloch, Hon. William Morris, T. M. Radenhurst and others from Perth, and the Honourable William McDougall, of Ottawa, known in the political life of the time as "Wandering Willie."

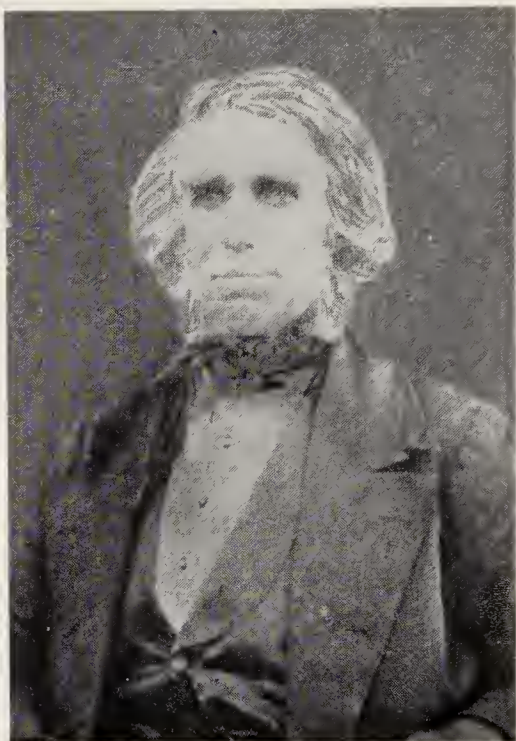
"The last time I saw my grandfather," writes Mrs. Thompson, who was then a little girl,

"was just a week before he died. The dogs had broken out of their kennels and rushed into the house, Sport, the favorite, on the bed, the place of honour, earned by years of devotion, and the other dogs with noses resting on the quilt, and on the gray old plaid they had so often followed. The tears ran down his face, but he beckoned to me. I took the whistle, which I could hardly use for crying; I led the way to the kennel, but Sport would not come."

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

In the village, whose interests Andrew Dickson had done so much to serve, on Saturday, the 12th of September, 1868, the third Sheriff of the District of Bathurst and the first of the United Counties of Lanark and Renfrew, passed from the scene, and two days later to his last resting place in the little cemetery on the "Auld Kirk" hill.

"But our memory eyes have found you
And we hold you grandly dear;
With no work-day woes to wound you,
With the peace of God around you,
Sleep, old pioneer."



THOMAS MACQUEEN

VIII

THOMAS MACQUEEN

Poet, Journalist, Politician

FOUR YEARS have now elapsed since you and I parted on the Broomielaw Bridge, in all probability to meet no more in our present form of existence. We sailed from Bowling Bay on the morning of the 7th April, 1842, and on the evening of the same day, while rounding the Mull of Kintyre, I composed and sang the following verses to the air of 'Katharine Ogie.' I believe they have already appeared in some of the Scottish prints.

"The shades of distance dimly fa';
The mists of evening gather,
And hide in hazy, hopeless gloom,
Auld Scotia's hills o' heather.
The bark bounds owre the heaving wave,
The wide sea foams before us,
And the prayers of a thousand friendlie hairts
Are hovering fondly owre us.

"And e'e grows dim and dimmer still—
The heart grows sick and weary.
As fades the hills and bonny dales
Whaur childhood wandered cheery.
Land that I love, I leave thee now;
Nae mair thy freedom woos me,
But O, I grieve to think I leave
Ae' faithful hairt that lo'es me.

"And is it, then, the last sad look,
The lingering look of sorrow!
And maun fair Ayreshire's hills be hid
In endless gloom to-morrow?
I sigh not for my heartless foes—
Their slanders but amuse me;
But O, I grieve to think I leave
Ae' faithful hairt that lo'es me.

“Proud bark, bound fleetly owre the wave
And frae my country bear me;
Blow on, ye winds, and frae the scenes
Of perished pleasures tear me.
But O, dear Isle! where’e’r I roam—
Whatever fate pursues me—
I’ll love thee while amang the hills
There’s ae’ fond fairt that lo’es me.”¹

So wrote Thomas Macqueen in the month of June, 1846, from his forest home in Canada, to an erstwhile friend in Scotland, James Crawford, of Caldwell Hall. Two years earlier his letters to *The Bathurst Courier and Ottawa General Advertiser*, as it was then, and now *The Perth Courier*, and still published at Perth after a continuous life of over ninety years, gave earnest of Macqueen’s later and very lively interest in the journalistic field of Upper Canada. Moreover, four years of life in the forest wilderness had already brought this Scottish poet and artisan into a considerable acquaintance with the stormy problems of Church and State, that, for many years, continued to occupy the controversial field of Canada West, as the Upper Province was then so commonly designated.

On the 9th of October, 1803, Thomas Macqueen was born of peasant parentage in the parish of Kilbirnie, in Ayrshire. Even as a little boy, and after only a few months’ attendance at a very humble parish school, he was forced by the poverty of his family, and by way of sharing in their support, to engage in those rural occupations in which children of the Scottish peasantry at that time were so commonly employed. And so he lived till he was ten years old, when an accident rendered him permanently lame. Through a long period of slow and painful recovery the boy eagerly sought the acquaintance of such books as were available, and the self-taught processes of study and reflection determined the pursuits of manhood’s years. By the time he had reached his fifteenth or sixteenth year he had learned the trade of a stone mason, an occupation which he pursued in Scotland as he grew into manhood, and later in Canada, whither he had emigrated at the age of thirty-nine. Essentially a man of the people, and with ardent long-

ings, he yearned toward the great field of letters; but the precarious existence to be then derived from authorship prevented his full entry into its charmed circle. Moreover, the needs of a wife and a growing family effectively closed his ears to the seductive calls of literature. But the stimulus given to the working classes of Britain by the agitation over and final success of Parliamentary Reform, before and after 1832, roused Macqueen's voice and stimulated his facile pen. Suddenly he emerged from obscurity and became at once a lecturer, an orator, a philosopher and a poet. Soon also, the periodical press of Scotland made his acquaintance as the bold and energetic advocate of the rights of the working man. Ere long he was making vigorous efforts to elevate the minds of the working classes by the weekly issue of a series of essays, as well by lectures, on a variety of subjects connected with Political Economy, Education and Morals. The almost bitter experience of his youth, a rather excessive antagonism to those in high places, and a corresponding sympathy with, and fellow-feeling for, the lowly, led Macqueen eventually into the controversial field. But his natural love and taste for literature and poetry, as its finer breath and spirit, aided by a warm and fertile imagination, led him to invoke the muse and strike the lyre, catching oftentimes a harmony not unworthy.

The genius of Robert Burns had generated a host of minor minstrels throughout the west of Scotland. After the lapse of many years, and, except in older Scottish prints, the productions, as well as the names, of these bards are only memories. Saunders Tait, "the tattling tailor poet of Tarbolton," and his cronie, Sillar, whom he called "Dainty Davie," are lost to fame. These and others are dismissed in a literary notice of the time with the rather caustic reference that "they succeeded only in adding indelicacy to their weakness," and that "their lives were puerile and coarse."

But Thomas Macqueen, of Barkip, near Beith, in Ayrshire, was of a finer quality and of a later day. Between 1831 and 1850 his three volumes of poems had each run through

three editions. In a reference to the literary work of his earlier years, a reviewer describes him as one "whose writing table was a book laid on his knees; whose midnight lamp was the flame of his kitchen fire."

Macqueen's earliest work, as a poet, is gathered in a small volume entitled:

"My Gloaming Amusements,
a Variety of
POEMS
On Several Serious and Entertaining Subjects
by Thomas Macqueen,
Mason, near Beith."

This little book appeared in February, 1831, and, as the Preface intimates, "for my own amusement in my leisure hours." The titles indicate the subjects—"The Spirit of the Ruins," "The Robin Red Breast," "The Friendless Bard." The language is generally the dialect of the Lowlander. The treatment is subjective, characterized by shrewd observations, but carrying a sad or plaintive note over the inequalities of life or its inevitable end.

"A Robin-red-breast sat fu' douce,
An' chirp'd his sang o' wae."

One of these bits of verse is entitled "An Elegy on the Death of Mr. Thomas Knox," and carries with it a prefatory note with a naively touching reference to the poet himself.

"This is the same person" (Knox) "to whom my poem of the Robin-red-breast is inscribed. He was a youth of very astonishing abilities and of the most refined feelings of any with whom I ever had the pleasure of being acquainted. To him I was indebted for my knowledge in English grammar, and several other literary attainments. The following elegy is, however, not offered as an acknowledgment for favors received, but as a token of that veneration which his great accomplishments so justly deserve from the world. He died in the seventeenth year of his age, on the 23rd of September, 1829, after having patiently experienced all the shattering stages of consumption.

“Alone by the ingle at dead of the night,
With feelings refined for a sage,
All sleepless and pale by the glimmering light
He pored o'er the classical page.
As the rose of the desert, unheeded, unseen,
Diffuses its sweets on the gale:
Despite of applause, or detraction unclean,
He bloom'd in obscurity's vale.”

Curiously enough, this tribute to his young friend is not in dialect—so generally the favorite vehicle of the Scotsman when deeply stirred by his emotions.

The poet's earliest production, calling for notices from the literary critics of the day, is a poem entitled “The Exile,” printed in the *Glasgow Argus* of April 14, 1836, showing a style terse and vigorous, exhibiting a real nobility of character and elevation of mind. His best known work in Scotland, however, was “The Moorland Minstrel,” reviewed in the *Scot's Times* of February 26, 1840. In Rev. E. H. Dewart's “Selections from Canadian Poets,” Macqueen's “Address to the River Garnock” is given in full, taken from “The Moorland Minstrel.” This was the stream of the poet's boyhood—the river that from the beginning of time had flowed past the rocky ridges of Glengarnock, past Beith and Barkip—the river that had been his daily companion. The treatment is again subjective. He gives us little of the river or the countryside, but much of his own thought and feeling.

Life had been a severe training school. The years had brought, in their passing, many sorrows and many burdens. There is a haunting lament for the companions and the years that have vanished for ever into the unrecoverable past.

“The lightsome heart, the laughing eye,
The hope that lured me on,
The voice that sung my lullaby,
The youthful peers that shared my joy—
These all are dead and gone.

“The budding spring, the blooming May,
The blackbird's soothing strain,
The schoolboy's gambols on the way,
But bring to mind a happier day
That cannot come again.”

He moralized on the river, flowing onward to the sea, unchanged throughout the centuries, while human life, in all its ebb and flow, runs through all the gamut of history:

And thou wert ere Glengarnock's wall
Had reared its feudal head;
Thou saw'st the glories of its hall,
Thou sing'st the requiem of its fall,
When countless years have fled.

"Yea, thou wert ere frail, fleeting man
Earth's flowery surface trod;
Thou saw'st him first presume to scan
And reason falsely from a plan
That told him of a God.

"Thou saw'st his Druid altars dyed
With blood of burning men;
With bow and quiver by his side,
He ranged for prey the forest wide,
The mountain and the glen.

"He changed his painted skin and hair,
His creed and sacrifice;
And, humming through the woods of Blair,
Thou hear'st Saint Winning's evening prayer
To countless deities.

"Thou see'st him still the child of change,
Nor less the child of thrall,
Adjuring Nature's healthy range
For prison toil and commerce strange,
With scarce a God at all.

"And yet thou art unchanged! the flood
Hath foam'd and fled away,
Leaving thy calm and native mood
To sing to hill and vale and wood
Thy philosophic lay."

In January, 1839, the death of his little daughter called forth a touching and pathetic apostrophe, revealing a depth of poignant feeling and of chastened emotion:

"Aye, little Mary, thou art gone,
And cauld, and pale, and lifeless now
The chilliness o' death sits on
Thy dimpled cheek and bonny brow;
Thy pure wee lips are blanch'd and sad,
The film is on thy dark blue e'e—
Those lips ance lisp'd to make me glad;
That e'e ance sparkled joy for me.

"I canna weep—'twad be unwise;
I hae wept owre they cradle, but
'Twas for thy strugglin' agonies—
These now are clos'd, and hence hae shut
The saut springs o' my sympathie;
But my affection's purest glow
Is lastin' as my memorie,
And lives tho' tears refuse to flow.

"A thousand thoughts maun mak' it live;
Thy mother's sigh—her silent tear;
Thy little playthings still maun give
Fresh pangs to recollections dear;
And aye at mornin', night, or noon,
When at our humble board I see
An empty seat—an idle spoon,
My thoughts will wander after thee.

"Farewell, my child, I canna weep;
I only wept at thy distress;
Now that thou'rt hush'd in lasting sleep,
I feel the soul's sad loneliness,
But canna weep—yet through life's day,
If blest wi' thought and memorie,
When prattlin' bairns around me play,
I'll heave a father's sigh for thee."

Reference has been made to Macqueen's tenderness for those in humble circumstances. He attempts here and there, like Wordsworth, to idealize in simple and noble expression the life whose orbit looks only out upon "its little patch of sky and little lot of stars." He has an affection for the life of the peasant, with his simple tastes and homely interests. And, added to this, there is his fine regard for women and

their ennobling influences upon the common life around. These ideas are finally expressed in the following lines taken from "The Exile," exhibiting as they do great power and beauty:

"All that I am in body and in soul,
All that is lovely in the perished past,
All in the present worthy of regard,
With peasants and with peasant scenes is blent.
A peasant nursed me, and in softest strains
Above my cradle sung my lullaby.
I called her "Mother," dear and deathless name,
And she, yes, she was just a peasant girl."

There is nothing to show what induced Macqueen to leave his native land. But any one acquainted with the emigrations from the Counties of Lanark and Renfrew, some twenty years before he came to Canada, can readily understand that the glowing reports of success, sent homewards when the memory of earlier hardships had grown dim, might well induce the Poet of Barkip to look to the Eldorado that awaited him also. The plaintive note of the song in the familiar strain of Burns' "Highland Mary," composed and sung as he has told us while rounding the Mull of Kintyre, is not without an expectant hope of, at least, a tolerable life beyond "the heaving wave."

And with an affection for the scenes and the associations of the homeland, where, from Barkip, near Beith, he had become known to the literary world of Scotland, here in the new land, his letters, as well as an occasional poem, found their way to the newspaper at Perth, from "Barkip, near Pakenham." This was a designation having to do with neither hamlet, nor organized settlement, but only with the rude shanty of a pioneer in the township of Fitzroy, some three miles down the Mississippi River from the Village of Pakenham, or Dickson's Mills, as the place was indifferently called at that time.

In the *Courier* Macqueen's activities in his new home may be discovered, as well as glimpses which he gives of the pioneer communities among which his new life was cast. There is a freshness about his observations.

His ocean experience was not quite that of the average emigrant of the time, or of an earlier day, whose feelings and emotions have been set forth in detail in such accounts as those of the Perth settlers given by the Rev. William Bell, in his "Hints to Emigrants." Macqueen appears to have fallen upon a happier arrangement. However, his own description is the best:

"The first thing on which the comfort of a long sea voyage depends is a good stout ship and a few passengers. The second is a sober captain and a civil crew. Some of my Glasgow friends who have often taken an interest in my welfare were kind enough to secure me a passage in the Bark *James Dean*, of Glasgow—Captain Wilson, who is not in the habit of taking passengers. On this occasion, however, he had eight women and thirteen men, chiefly from Glasgow and the vicinity, so that in a very few days we got intimately acquainted, not only with each other, but with the whole crew, consisting of sixteen men, mostly from the West of Scotland. We lived throughout the voyage in the greatest harmony and good humour. Our captain was a steady, sober and energetic man, and his sailors were civil, friendly and obliging to the utmost degree. We were under no restraints, either in the use of fire or fresh water—a circumstance very rare, and a privilege of inestimable value to emigrants.

"We had plenty of provisions, particularly oatmeal and potatoes, which on sea are preferable to every other kind of food. We had neither disease nor death. Our ship was strong and well manned and while almost every other vessel which came into Quebec from Britain about the same time had been either dismasted or unrigged, ours landed safely on the 23rd of May, without having had either a rope broken or a sail shattered."

What a far-away day it is! Who, in our time, even among the poorest, would offer a eulogy to oatmeal and potatoes as a standard ration at sea!

Then comes an account of the up-river journey to Montreal, the impression of an Old World mind of New World shores presented by the Gulf and the River. Here again there is presented a striking picture of the city of Quebec, as it appeared in the spring of 1842:

"It is to be regretted that one of perhaps the most beautiful, romantic and strongly-fortified situations in the world should be occupied by such a mean, wretched-looking city as Quebec. The fortifications are strong and kept in good repair, situated on a bold promontory which overhangs the river, the harbour and most part of the town. The promontory is composed of stratified limestone of what the geologists call the transition formation. There are a very few good stone buildings in the Upper City, to which you ascend by a long flight of stone stairs—but high houses, small windows, dirty, narrow streets, a dense population and little labour are the characteristics of the Lower Town. In 1842 it was miserable in appearance—it is now miserable in reality, having been nearly reduced to ashes in 1845 and only for the suffering and destitution caused by the conflagration there would certainly be little cause for lamentation, as the future prosperity and respectable character of the city called loudly for such a calamity."

And as if pleased with the contrast, yet with the critical eye of the builder, this story runs on:

"Montreal is rather a respectable looking town, containing a number of elegant stone buildings, but not very compactly put together. It presents, however, an entirely different aspect from that of Quebec. The people are alive. There is a stir, a bustle, a visible activity, indicating a tendency towards prosperity."

From Montreal this emigrant family came, by way of Lachine, St. Anne and the Ottawa River, on to Bytown. Impressions of what Upper Canada offered in these days are concisely and graphically gathered into a sentence or two:

"The great tide of emigration flows up the Ottawa as far as Bytown, but although there are steamboats plying on the river for about sixty miles farther up, there is seven miles of an extensive land carriage (Bytown to Aylmer) before these boats are reached, and as emigrants are pretty much sickened with the toil and expense of embarking and disembarking by the time they reach Bytown, they are generally inclined to consider the easiest method the best for the present, and therefore proceed through the Rideau Canal to Kingston, there to see and perhaps experience misery and destitution equal

to that which had induced them to leave their native land. The great annual influx of labouring men to Kingston, and the other towns along the lake shore, as far up as Toronto, has rendered labor scarce and wages low. All the workable land for hundreds of miles in that direction is already purchased, and the expense, toil, and time necessary to reach the Western or Huron Districts renders it nearly as formidable an enterprise as a second crossing the Atlantic."

Macqueen eventually settled with his family on lot number 14, in the fourth Concession of the township of Fitzroy, where the waters of the Mississippi, flowing by the little homestead, sang to him, in passing, their new-world lay—so greatly in contrast to that other and now far-distant homeland where Glengarnock's moorland river rolled her "dark waves to the sea." In Fitzroy, and throughout the neighbouring townships, for the next six or seven years, he followed his trade as a stonemason.

The township of Fitzroy had been surveyed by Reuben Sherwood, in 1822. Charles Sheriff, once a ship builder and merchant in Scotland, coming from a suburb of Edinburgh in 1817, possessed of the unusual capital of £50,000, arrived at Cobourg, where he lived for nearly three years. Having become acquainted with Lord Dalhousie at York, the Governor was instrumental in having an offer made to Sheriff of a land grant of 5,000 acres on the Ottawa River. In the autumn of 1819, his son Alexander, a boy of eighteen, with characteristic energy and foresight, selected the land around the Chats Falls on the Upper Canada side, built a rude shanty and was joined by his father and family in the spring of 1820. The little settlement was named Fitzroy Harbour. As the years went onward Sheriff erected a sawmill at the mouth of the Carp River, and elsewhere in the vicinity, a gristmill, with four "run of stones," an oatmeal mill, a church, a school, a potash and brickworks, a hotel and a small wharf. Having a most picturesque setting, the little village set out to accomplish an ambitious future.

On a branch of the Mississippi where its divided confluence with the Ottawa skirts the north-western boundary of Fitzroy, James Dingwall had built the first sawmill, in 1823. This was

the industrial section of the Township; and the surrounding settlers had, like the founder of the village, great expectations. Charles Sheriff had established the settlement with the idea of some day finding his mills and his "Harbour" village on a great trade and colonization route from Montreal to Lake Huron, for that had been not only the dream of those settling along the Ottawa, but had also been constantly before the minds of those of Britain's public men who had any knowledge of the circumstances. But when in the middle twenties, serious designs were at length contemplated, the possible development of the Rideau route and canal system drew off from any interest in the Ottawa. Even to-day the Georgian Bay Canal still finds its chief publicity in the perennial efforts to revive in Parliament that Act of its incorporation.

Long before Thomas Macqueen's arrival the glory of Fitzroy Harbour was growing dim, and Charles Sheriff had gone to live in Bytown, as Crown Timber Agent there. Never again would romantic, but uninformed, officials at Quebec direct inquiring emigrants, as sometimes had happened, to Fitzroy Harbour, where, as the name implied, plenty of work would undoubtedly be found in the shipyards there.

Hence it came about that by 1842, when Macqueen came to Canada, "Barkip" had little reason for business or social affiliation with the Harbour. He turned rather to the growing village of Pakenham Mills, reached by the "Pakenham Road" leading from Fitzroy Harbour west and south to the older settlements of Lanark and Perth. Moreover, Pakenham Mills was the establishment of his new-found friend, Andrew Dickson, already the Sheriff of the District. Among his nearest neighbours in Fitzroy were the family of John Willson, who in 1822 had married Eliza Riddell before Squire Landon, J.P., the first marriage ceremony performed in the Township of Fitzroy.

By the end of 1847, when Macqueen was contemplating another change of residence, he was widely known throughout the District. There were the days when a revival of the half-forgotten science of phrenology had devotees in every com-



WILLIAM WILLSON



munity. One of these, "Paul Pry," writing to the *Courier* at this time, describes the mason of Barkip in language that indicates no loss of intellectual or political interest by Macqueen's removal to Canada:

"Poetry has been defined as the language of passion. With Mr. Macqueen it is intellectual sentiment under the government of a severe and philosophical judgment. As a lecturer he is distinguished for a terse and vigorous style. Old and familiar truths are presented with a fresh vigour and a healthy fragrance. As a moral reformer he is tolerant, possessing tact, with great shrewdness in his mode of attacking the citadel of corruption."

The files of the *Courier* in the years 1846 and 1847 carry the Caldwell letters. The novelty of the life around induced many a description of places and events that have become to us quite commonplace. Land clearing and the first cultivation of the virgin soil immediately caught Macqueen's fancy. Perhaps nowhere else in the earlier prints are there any clearer or more vivid descriptions of these processes than the account which the "Letters" reveal.

"In the ordinary part of the forest there are perhaps from eighty to one hundred large trees upon each imperial acre, besides a large quantity of small trees and brushwood. The brush and small trees under six inches in diameter are cut first at nearly the level of the surface, and piled into large heaps. The principal trees are then cut from two to four feet above the ground, and allowed to fall promiscuously over each other. The branches are chopped off as soon as the tree falls, and thrown upon the former heaps, and the tree itself is cut into lengths of twelve or fifteen feet. As soon as the portion of the forest doomed to cultivation has been thus unmercifully dealt with, the brush piles are kindled and if the season is favourable, the conflagration is very rapid and alarming, sometimes enveloping the whole space of new land in one sheet of flame. The heavy trees are afterwards dragged together with oxen, and put up in large piles and burned; the land is then raked of chips and branches that have escaped the burning and are now burned off. The grain is then sown and well harrowed into the scorched and blackened earth with a kind of harrow called a "drag." Its form is an

acute-angled triangle of wood, containing nine large strong teeth or tines. It is drawn with the acute angle first to prevent it from holding upon stumps. The "tines" weigh from four to five pounds each, and are powerful in breaking and tearing up obstacles. And from this course, rude, barbarous mode of cultivation, a crop of wheat is raised that in bounty and abundance would rival the products of the Carse of Gowrie or the Meislands of Midlothian."

He makes some interesting comments on emigrants and emigration and the opportunities for improved conditions of life in the new world over those in the old.

"There is a very serious error of opinion existing generally in Britain in relation to the class of people who ought to emigrate to Canada. It is a common opinion, which has received the sanction of some eminent writers and modern political economists, that emigration to Canada is beneficial principally to such of the British workmen as want of employment or reduction of wages have driven within the precincts of a lingering starvation."

He criticizes adversely the growth of the industrial system which has produced "the avaricious jostling of manufacturing enterprise," and on the other hand "the revolting condition of the five-farthing per-yard weaver or the penny-half-penny shirt maker," and thus it is that emigration to the New World is the forlorn hope of the destitute. And yet, in spite of the real difficulties to be encountered in Canada and the real privations to be endured, there is the prospect and the power of gradually making life better, while in Britain one has merely the means and prospect of gradually making it worse.

"Every healthy young man of industrious and economical habits may if he please be the sole proprietor of a hundred acres of excellent land at the age of twenty-five, which will be a guarantee against want through life. At the age of twice twenty-five, in Scotland, the earnings of the best part of life are likely to consist of a few planes and chisels, a hammer, a trowel, an awl, and pincers, a shuttle and a pair of scissors or a needle and a bottomless thimble, with a great amount of cringing and difficulty to find employment for them."

He thinks the man with even a small amount of ready money coming to the land of rent-free farms could be almost at once

comfortable and independent, for "it may be truly asserted that a man possessing £1,000 in this country is equal to one with £10,000 in Britain."

Notwithstanding the low value of agricultural produce in Canada, yet the difference in this respect, as compared with Scotland, is less than the difference in the value of the soil. Macqueen is constantly referring to the cheap land, and like a boy set free from school he cannot yet get over the idea that land-holding could possibly be separated from rent charges, so strongly have the customs of the Old World fixed themselves in the minds of her people.

"Little wonder is it indeed that the probabilities of agricultural prosperity are remarkably good, when sixty acres of old arable land and one hundred and forty acres of bush, having a dwelling house and a good frame barn worth at least £40, were recently sold (1846) in this neighbourhood for only £500—a sum which would certainly be considered annual rent for such property in Scotland. This was lot number fifteen in the first concession of Fitzroy—was one of the first occupied lots in the Township, advantageously situated as well, and possessed of soil of a superior quality, and moreover the price was the highest that had so far been paid for land in any part of the District."

With an Old Country viewpoint and from an experience derived from methods that developed out of careful economy and the saving of even the smallest things produced, Macqueen is filled with alarm at the wasteful methods of Canadian farm life displayed on all hands, and possible only where the land is new and unusually fertile.

"Thousands of farms which have been under regular cultivation for ten, twelve or even twenty years have during that period been subject repeatedly to the same rotation of crops without having ever received one shovel full of manure; and yet they are still yielding abundant harvests."

Fertilization is little understood and such has been the ignorance and neglect in this regard that "in numerous instances farmers have preferred removing their barns and stables to removing the manure which accumulates around them."

Of course he finds, too, many worthy and enterprising farmers in the country, who endeavour to employ improved methods of cultivation and who are making sincere and praiseworthy efforts to improve the breeds of domestic animals, with quite encouraging results.

But the settled portions of the District of Bathurst do not lend themselves to encouraging agricultural experiments. The settlers who are here since only about twenty-five years were not such as to possess any great knowledge of soil cultivation. And indeed their poverty prevented their making use of the limited knowledge they did have. Besides, their improvement was seriously impeded by the fact that a large portion of the first settlements "is situated on a high ridge of coarse, inferior granite," not conducive to profitable farming.

"But some of these settlers have dared every disadvantage and produced remarkable results. Alexander Macdonnell, of Sand Point, has spared neither labor nor expense in clearing and laying out open, level fields, tastefully laid off and substantially fenced, which, if properly embellished with a few handsome villas, would entitle the shores of the Lake des Chats to rival the lake scenery in Scotland."

And some are outstanding in their effort, not only to improve their own condition, but also to extend their influence for good very often among not over-willing neighbours. William and John Thompson, near Bytown, have laboriously and effectively gathered and removed from the surface of their farms vast piles of boulders and as well as clearing the land these stones have been built into substantial stone fences. And it may be added here that these fences have survived into our own day.

"The agricultural interests of the country, have been likewise much advanced by the indefatigable exertions of Andrew Dickson, Esquire, of Pakenham Mills, present High Sheriff of Bathurst District. Mr. Dickson's method of doing good has not been confined to the vast expense which he has incurred in bringing a superior breed of domestic animals into the neighborhood. He has been zealous in purchasing the newest and best works on agriculture and cattle breeding, in reading and digesting the leading doctrines of such works,

in lending and recommending them to such acquaintances as he deemed improvable through such a medium; and in verbally forcing the important facts and doctrines of such works unceremoniously down the throats of that class of human animals who are beyond the reach of good information.

“William Simpson, Esquire, of Smith’s Falls, on the Rideau, deserves prominent mention, both as a theoretical and as a practical farmer. His barns, stables, cattle-sheds and other outhouses are so skilfully and conveniently arranged as to require perhaps not more than one-half of the manual labor generally needed in establishments of equal extent. His farming implements are numerous and of an improved description. His system of drill husbandry is equal to almost anything of the kind now practised in Britain, and in cattle, sheep and pigs, he can exhibit beautiful specimens of almost every full and every crossbreed in the world. Besides, he has the credit of having many of the best horses in this part of the Province.”

In other letters Macqueen describes the rising villages and towns throughout the neighbouring settlements, and gives of these the most concise and illuminating accounts. And here may be noticed the endless letter writing and controversy so characteristic of the time. Just when these letters were appearing in the *Courier* some incendiary fired the barns and stables of His Honour J. G. Malloch, the District Judge, and Lord Elgin issued a Proclamation offering a reward of £50 for the apprehension of the offender. There was for a long time a feeling of hostility between the Judge and Daniel McMartin, of Perth, a leading lawyer of the District. The occasion was not free from political rancour. Macqueen took a hand in the controversy and stoutly maintain the probity and honor of the Judge. He referred to a pamphlet of December 16th, 1846, addressed to the inhabitants of Bathurst District, attacking the Judge, and offers the opinion that its matter and style indicate authorship of a “low, quibbling lawyer,” who would not be above aspiring to the judgeship if the position could be made vacant. In short, Macqueen is ready to believe that “the same hand wrote the pamphlet as burnt the Judge’s barns and stables recently.” At once here and there in other county newspapers the argument continues, and

it readily descends to personalities and becomes even scurrilous. "G," writing in the *Brockville Statesman*, makes a strong attack on Macqueen. This is followed in the *Courier* by a writer who signs himself "Bullpout," and writes from "Mississippi," and thinks that no one will charge him with vanity in choosing the title of "this droll little fish."

If Macqueen required a champion "Bullpout" proves to be a doughty one. He pays his respects to the writer in the *Statesman*. "G" is evidently some "mongrel pup," for he can see no difference between the spirit of malignity and those who are influenced by it.

"I cannot see why he lugs forward Mr. McMartin in such bold relief in opposition to Mr. Macqueen, as if it had been a lawyer in Perth and not the spirit of malignity against which Mr. Macqueen was contending. The individual who pretends to know anything of Thomas Macqueen, either as a man, an author, or a politician, and makes such charges against him, is an infamous liar—and he would be branded as such wherever Thomas Macqueen is known, either in Britain or America. If Thomas Macqueen had been actuated by that crawling sycophantism which distinguishes those in opposition to him, with the talents which he possesses, he might now have looked down with purse-proud contempt upon the wealthiest of them. It is almost superfluous for me to say that posterity will do him justice, for posterity alone will be fully qualified to appreciate his merits."

There still remain in the vicinity of "Barkip, near Pakenham" a few descendants of the pioneers whose lives have far outrun the allotted span, but who yet remember something of Thomas Macqueen. Among these is the familiar figure of William Willson, for a generation a well-known justice of the peace in Fitzroy, the son of Fitzroy's first marriage—and now at almost eighty-five spending the evening of his days in quiet retirement at Pakenham.

In following out his daily occupation round the settlements Macqueen was accustomed to live again the part of the ancient Scottish bard and sing the glories or the opposite of those among whom he lived. No "bee" or barn-raising was complete unless commemorated by some verses from Macqueen; but

these songs of local scenes and local characters have not come down except the title only of one—"The Boys of Fitzroy." His productions here are reported as sometimes critical, but always genial. The fact that his neighbours in Fitzroy were largely Irish Episcopalians may have sometimes stirred within the heart of this Scottish Radical not always the kindest feelings.

A few examples of Macqueen's poetry of these years are here and there to be found, but nothing of any particular merit. One, written about the year 1845 in a lady's album—Mrs. Irving of Pembroke, then Miss Cannon of Ramsay, and the daughter of the first physician in this township—is entitled "The Melody of Sound." An extract will suffice.

"There's music when the blythe bush-bird
Loud carols on the spray;
It sings the bushes, bowers and brooks
Of boyhood's happy day.
There's music sweet in minstrel's lyre,
In harper's instrument;
The tones are life and love and fire,
In joy and sorrow blent.

"But ah! there is a sweeter sound
That trembles on the ear,
Like melody from other worlds
Which dullest souls must hear.
It wraps the lewd in reverent awe,
Bids drooping hearts rejoice;
It soothes the ruthless tyrant's wrath:
'Tis the sound of woman's voice."

And there is another of better quality, written at Perth on the 13th December, 1847, in answer to a request made by Mrs. J. P. Grant, of that town, "a lady of high literary attainments." It is entitled "The Influence of Woman."

"If there is aught within this little world
Of bleak and cold-rife dreariness,
Where sordid self voraciously eats up
The very shreds of feeling, and destroys
All nobleness of thought. If there is aught
That mitigates the rigour of man's doom

'Tis the holy beauty of a woman's smile.
When pain or passion rouses up the man
Till frenzied wrath, like madness, fires the soul;
Or when the ghostly gloom of secret grief
Rolls o'er life's landscape like a thunder cloud,
The horror and the darkness both are lost
In the strange mystery of a woman's voice.
Yea, if there is amid the shapeless mass
Of Fancy's deities one ray divine
Which flings a radiant glory on the world,
And in return with sovereign power demands
The purest homage, worship, awe and love
Which nature offers at devotion's shrine,
'Tis that heavenly ray of light, of life and love
Which intellectual woman calls her soul."

Macqueen's further contributions to the press while still resident in Fitzroy, set forth his ideas on education and centred round the vexed question of the Clergy Reserves—a question which held for a time the fierce centre of argument and contention throughout the Canadas. He is of the opinion that upon the education of the people rests the first condition of national greatness and national happiness, and that neither the science of civil government, nor the peculiarities of systematic religion, ought to be permitted to usurp the place of popular instruction.

And here he takes on the expression of Carlyle and shows a style of invective that increased in energy with his later years.

"Britain has neither been the most forward nor the most backward of the European nations in the cause of general education, but assuredly in no country of the world has the bubble of national power and national glory exerted the same intoxicating, the same maddening, influence as it has done in the little islands of Britain and Ireland. In fact, from the ascension of the Protestant monarchy to the British throne in the year 1688, down to the Waterloo butchery in 1815, including a period of 127 years, the aggrandizement of the Church and the State continued to be the *one idea*—the molten image—the hydrophobian mania of the whole people; while

the rights of the people—the interests of the people—the education of the people—were mere secondary considerations, little thought of and less attended to.

“The result of thus neglecting the first condition of national greatness was a series of efforts to put forth in the shape of war, to prove the national superiority by a display of national vanity and barbarism. The actual expenditure of money in these wars was 2,023 millions of pounds sterling, a sum which would have purchased one hundred acres of good land in Canada or the United States for every man, woman and child in the British Isles, and thereby have secured them against the probability of famine and destitution. This astonishing expenditure does not include the expense of suppressing two rebellions in Scotland and one in Ireland, nor the immediate cost of civil government, nor the enormous expense of supporting the spiritual artillerymen, the Bishops who may render themselves politically useful by occasionally scattering the mystic watchword, “The Church in Danger,” while their prayers and thanksgivings for the glorious victories can only be regarded as a solemn mockery of God and human reason. We have begun at the wrong end of the chapter. We have been endeavouring to erect a political and religious greatness upon the sandy foundation of ignorance, and our efforts have produced a Babel of unmeaning noises, mystery and confusion. It is vain to tell the Mahomedan that his religion is false; he will just return the compliment with interest. In fact, if you wish to wean men from their errors, to make them better or happier, you must first try to make them rational—you must cultivate their power of reason; you must educate them!

“But it is still true that popular instruction is regarded as a matter of comparative indifference by some of the wealthiest and wisest of the nations. So late as the Session of 1839-40, the British House of Commons, under the direction of the Melbourne Ministry, voted £70,000 for the accommodation of Prince Albert’s horses, and only £30,000 for the education of the people.”

Macqueen then goes on to show how the Colonial legislation of George the Third disregarded Colonial education. Much care was taken to protect and establish a State priesthood, an institution which he holds to be synonymous, not only with the destruction of public morality, but also with the downfall of nations. His conclusion is that the lands of the

Clergy Reserves, comprising as they did the setting apart, under the Constitutional Act of 1791, of one-seventh of the land in Upper Canada for the support of the Protestant clergy, and which the Church of England claimed as her own, should be devoted to the cause of secular education. Writing again in this connection in April, 1847, and displaying strongly his inherited antagonism to the Established Church, he scornfully declares:

“The ‘good intention’ of the Third George’s Government has gone as a paving-stone to the other world. The people of the Province did not become Espiscopalian Protestants. They did not become an intelligent people. They became, as might reasonably be expected, an uneducated people; and in the winter of 1842 I had the left hand felicity of imparting the names of the Roman alphabet to a number of young men who had vegetated in one of the back townships for some sixteen or eighteen years.”

Incidentally, therefore, Macqueen, like many another who occasionally among the pioneers had learning above their fellows, found ready opportunity for imparting his knowledge to the children of the settlers, otherwise deprived for the most part of any educational advantage at all.

Among the public men of the District of Bathurst in the early years none was better known, or for a while at least better beloved of the common people, than “the barefoot boy,” who afterwards carried the title of the Honourable Malcolm Cameron. He was the son of Angus Cameron, who came to Canada in 1806 as the hospital sergeant in a Highland regiment which was disbanded in 1816, following the close of the American War. Angus Cameron kept a tavern in Perth for some years prior to his death in 1822, when the boy had reached the age of fourteen. From boyhood Malcolm had conceived a strong aversion to the barroom, in which his mother shared, and, at the age of twelve years the lad found a situation on a farm some seven or eight miles back in the settlements, having among his general duties that of taking charge of a ferry boat over the Mississippi River, where it is crossed by the road leading from Perth to Lanark village, and where his unshod feet brought him the political cognomen

of later years. In 1836 Malcolm Cameron became the representative for the County of Lanark in the old Assembly of Upper Canada, and was again returned as the Member for Lanark in 1841, in the first election after the Union, and held office in later years in more than one administration. The Hon. Malcolm had been an outstanding opponent of the Family Compact, a strong advocate of Responsible Government, and of the entire separation of Church and State in Canada. He was unrivalled in Upper Canada as a speaker in the cause of Temperance Reform, and so, it might readily be expected, that in him Thomas Macqueen found one with whom there was much in common. Several years before Macqueen came to Canada, Malcolm Cameron had removed to Sarnia, where previously, and while engaged in mercantile life at Perth, he had invested some of his surplus savings. All his life Cameron had been something of a speculator, though never resulting in any great wealth to himself. In 1847 he had become interested in a considerable tract of land in the neighbourhood of Beasley's Hollow at Hamilton, as well as in the neighbourhood of the present city of Sarnia, and he induced Macqueen to try his fortune in the Western part of Upper Canada. By this time Malcolm Cameron, like many another of the old Perth and Lanark settlers, or their descendants, had quite fully learned that around the Lakes and in the western part of the Province, the climate and soil and general conditions offered more opportunity for an easier and more generous living than among the rocks and in the stubborn soil so general in the District of Bathurst.

Northwards along the Huron shore the advantages of a natural harbour had already brought the nucleus of a settlement, with Goderich as a centre, and thither went Thomas Macqueen, in the month of January, 1848. His own description, given in February of that year, takes us back to the Goderich of that time, and gives the reader of some seventy-five years later a view of what became in after years the county town of the United Counties of Huron and Bruce, and now of Huron alone.

"The town or future city of Goderich stands upon an eminence on the bank of Lake Huron; perhaps at the height of 130 feet above the water of the Lake. The River Maitland winds down a deep, broad glen on the north side of the town and forms one of the peculiar beauties of the place. The harbour, which is perhaps one of the safest in the world, is in the river a short distance from its mouth. About a mile above the harbour is a good substantial wooden bridge erected by the British Government through the Canada Company. The town contains a number of neat and even elegant brick and frame buildings. . . . From our own observations we would suppose it contains about one thousand inhabitants.

. . . The attempt to raise Goderich into a town was premature. It was commenced in 1831, when there was no settled country around it and no roads to any distant settled locality. During the last two or three years the go-ahead spirit has taken possession of it. Building lots are selling from £25 to £75, and it exhibits at present all the appearance of a healthy, thriving town. It has five churches, viz.: Scottish Secession, a Methodist, Old Kirk, Episcopalian and a Catholic. It has also a neat stone jail and council or courtroom, erected at a rather inconvenient distance from the town. And in the high bank above the lake shore, on the south side of the Harbour, a handsome little stone lighthouse was built in 1846. It has a branch bank, a custom-house and a number of lawyers, six or seven extensive merchants, half a dozen hotels and taverns, distilleries, breweries, tanneries, bakeries and butcheries, with an extensive foundry, and mechanics of almost every description. And within the last six weeks it has received the invaluable acquisition of two printing presses, and, what is perhaps the greatest of all recommendations, it has only one doctor and the healthiness of the place seems to prohibit all competition in that honourable and scientific profession."

One of the two "invaluable acquisitions" appeared in the form of *The Huron Signal*, "Printed and Published every Friday by Charles Dolsen, Market Square, Goderich—Thomas Macqueen, Editor." The first number was issued on the fourth of February, 1848, and into Macqueen's life a new song had come. He had always listened to the music of the

flowing river. But henceforth the Garnock and the Mississippi were to be only memories, for the harmonies of the winding Maitland were to fill the closing years.

Life at Goderich meant, for the most part, bidding good-bye to the realms of poesy, although during the next years or so there is an occasional contribution of real and abiding merit. Otherwise, and in the main, Macqueen became the protagonist of "those rascals—those scoundrels—the Radicals," as the more explosive Loyalists termed those who contended against the greed and autocracy of persons in high places—in short the editor of the *Signal* became a considerable figure in the ranks of a militant Liberalism amidst the many reactionary influences of the time. Writing of his death in 1861, the Stratford *Beacon* said:

"When Mr. Macqueen came to these Counties (Huron, Perth and Bruce), he found them thoroughly Tory in politics. He vowed he would change the character of their public opinion, and ere he died he realized his boast."

The first editorial in the first number of the *Signal* clearly indicates the policy—a policy almost wholly abandoned by the smaller newspapers of our own day:

"Every newspaper must be the organ or the advocate of a party, and it may be presumed that our motto is a sufficient intimation that the *Huron Signal* will endeavour to advance the views of the Liberal party."

The motto—a custom of that day with newspapers—was "The greatest possible good to the greatest possible number." The editorial advocated, as the *Signal's* principal political questions, the application of King's College and Clergy Reserve revenues for the benefit of all the members of the community—distribution of Crown patronage on the basis of merit only—equal Parliamentary representation and a national, improved system of education. Immediately the editor was settled in his chair, he commenced his bombardment of Establishments and opened the war somewhat after the fashion of Carlyle, in an editorial on the 11th of February, entitled "New Times:"

"In looking back upon the days of our boyhood, we remember an old man familiarly known by the name of 'Blind Harry,' who, for many years, sat daily (Sundays excepted) upon the New Brig of Ayr, torturing catgut to the old quaint Scotch tune, 'Keep the Whigs in Order.' And when the mischievous schoolboys would insist upon the propriety of changing the tune, the poor, goodnatured fiddler would smile and reply, 'Weel, I was aye thinkin' 'o learnin' anither whan I was young, but time gaed by, an' I'm now ow're auld to learn onything now.' Poor innocent, honest, blind Harry! Peace to thy ashes! But thou would'st have made an unfortunate fiddler in these days of degeneracy when the tune of the 'Vicar of Bray' is becoming the only popular melody. There is, however, a kind of honest, straightforward avowal of unprincipledness in the sentiments of 'The Vicar of Bray' that we can scarcely refrain from liking. He openly declares that however great or numerous the changes, whatever party might possess the power and the patronage, or whoever might be Pope or King, he would be Vicar of Bray."

And the Vicar was, of course, the Right Reverend John Strachan, the Anglican Lord Bishop of Toronto.

If Thomas Macqueen could only have seen the letter sent by the Bishop when he was the Archdeacon of York, some twenty years before, to the Dalhousie Library, his animosity towards Dr. John Strachan as a Churchman might have almost been forgotten in his affection for Dr. John Strachan as a Scotsman.

Macqueen's old friends of the Bathurst District did not forget him. He acknowledges subscriptions to the *Signal* and many letters of good cheer from the eastern part of the Province, and among others from the Honourable Malcolm Cameron, now of Sarnia, but always a hero in the eyes of Bathurst District Reformers especially, and a frequent visitor to his old home; Holmes Mair, a pioneer in the square timber trade on the Mississippi and one of the early merchants of Lanark village, an uncle of Charles Mair, the oldest Canadian poet now alive; Andrew Dickson, of Pakenham, a neighbour of Macqueen in the Barkip days, and then the Sheriff of the District of Bathurst. These were all Scotsmen, fast friends of this new editor, who, by the way, in August of the same

year, added the authority of proprietor to the dignity of the editorial chair. And soon a year went by, and, in February 1849, Macqueen was proudly able to say that, against all dire, prophecy, a Radical paper had lived and succeeded in Huron. It was a strenuous up-hill fight, but the subscription list had doubled. The editor asserted that he had written and printed "truth in the love of it," conscientiously and fearlessly over his own name. The second year begins reasserting the policy: "The rights and interests of the people are the rights and interests of the *Signal*." Fiercely and intensely these rights were interpreted to mean an undying hatred of Toryism.

And when, in May of that year, the Parliament buildings were burned at Montreal and Lord Elgin gratuitously insulted, Macqueen's soul was stirred to its depths:

"Toryism has been the curse of the civilized world—the liberal meaning of it is to exalt and pamper a few individuals in luxuriant indolence, at the expense of the sweat and toil and degradation of the great mass of industrious mankind. You, my working friends, have to pay for and support this Toryism—you are aware that the 'ignorant rabble,' 'the vulgar mob,' 'the unwashed millions,' and 'the swinish multitude' are the common phrases which Toryism employs towards you.

. . . In Canada the chief subject of legislation for twenty-five years has been whether Dr. John Strachan, of Toronto, should wear a surplice and mitre at the expense of the whole people or at the expense of those merely who believe in their ability and efficacy. . . . Listen not to the advice of Tories. Do not even read their papers. There is no further proof required of the ungodly nature of Toryism than the common fact that wherever there is most intelligence, there is least Toryism. The Bathurst *Courier* informs us that at the great District meeting called by the Sheriff and held in Perth, on Saturday, the 5th instant (May 5th, 1849), the Tories constituted a glorious, or rather an inglorious minority. The County of Lanark is the most intelligent County in Upper Canada."

Alas, for the faiths of mankind! In Macqueen's view Lanark to-day has sadly fallen from her high estate.

Not alone against Establishments were Macqueen's fulminations directed. In a series of articles entitled "Politics for the People," a variety of abuses came under the ban. The technicalities and involved phraseology of the law, which have been removed or modified so greatly in the past half-century, still flourished in the *Signal's* early years. The editor's very humorous and caustic references deserve quotation without comment:

"An honest man wishing to make a present of a plum-tree to another honest man, would just write something like the following: 'I, A.B., do freely in the presence of these witnesses give unto thee, C.D., this plum-tree, for any purpose or use to which thou seest meet to apply it. [Signed: A.B. Witnesses, J.K. and L.M.] But if a lawyer was employed to make what is called a legal transfer of a plum-tree, he would bring at least half a quire of paper, and an armful of old law volumes, and after a good deal of mysticism and oracular humbug, he would commence in an awful manner thus:

" 'Queen Victoria by the Grace of God, Amen;

" 'Know all ye to whom these Presents come or may concern:

" 'That I, A.B., yeoman, of the Township of..... in the County of..... in the Province of Upper Canada, do hereby and in virtue of these presents, on this 28th day of July in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, and in the twelfth year of the reign of our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria, in presence of these witnesses, grant, give and bequeath unto C.D., Yeoman, of the Township of..... aforesaid, in the County of..... aforesaid, all and every of a certain plum-tree, situated, etc., to hold and to have, and to possess the full and free use of the said plum-tree, with all its appurtenances, and appendages of roots, fibres, trunk, rind, bark, branches, buds, leaves, blossoms, and fruit, to be holden, owned and possessed in all time coming by the said C.D., his heirs, assigns and executors, etc.'

"And after a literal repetition of this specimen of perspicuity, perhaps six or seven times, and having it duly interspersed each time with a few new herebys and thereins and whereofs and aforesaid, the thing concludes in such a manner as to be unintelligible to everybody, and a lawsuit commences about the plum-tree founded on the omission or misplacing of

a particular herein or thereof, and one lawyer brings a host of authorities to prove that the herein and the thereof are properly placed and another lawyer brings a double host of authorities to prove that they are not properly placed, and the two honest men are both bubbled out of the plum-tree, and it and all its appendages of buds, leaves, branches, etc., become the property of the lawyer. This is shamology reduced to a science. Would the Hon. Robert Baldwin, or some other honest man, not write a little sixpenny book, entitled 'The Laws of Canada.'"

His criticism of lawyers was assuredly not minimized by the following items of the Bill of Costs printed in the *Signal* on the 20th of July, 1859.

"Items taken from a Bill of Costs rendered by Mr., of Goderich, for which he has been paid:

	Debt and Int.			Costs.		
Matheson, Plaintiff	£1	17	0	£10	3	9
McDonald "	2	2	2	10	0	0
McKenzie "	2	0	6	10	0	0
Dunn "	5	11	9	8	6	11
Priestly "	6	19	8	11	11	11
Wm. Taylor "	19	3	6	8	8	1
G. Stiscope "	4	16	5	12	1	10
J. Stiscope "	8	13	3	7	5	3
V. Stiscope "	6	7	9	14	18	5
Sebring "	7	17	3	11	18	9
Cahurt "	20	0	0	8	10	8
Debt	£85	14	3	113	5	7
Costs.....	113	5	7			
	£198 19 10					

"This is a fair specimen of what the public are compelled to submit to in times like the present."

In some surviving traces of correspondence between Macqueen and another friend, Peter Robertson, once of Bathurst District and later interested in publishing a newspaper at Belleville, there is the confession that "the editorial chair is the summit of my ambition." Early in 1847 Macqueen said he had been offered £100 salary to conduct a paper at Goderich, but the trammels of a wife and family prevented. This

offer came from the Hon. Malcolm Cameron. Macqueen went to Goderich eventually, as has been seen, but not under Malcolm Cameron, and meanwhile assured Robertson that he would help in the literary work of any paper that might be commenced at Belleville. Nothing came of this. In March of 1849 he poured out to his friend Robertson the story of his life at Goderich. He is explosive almost to the breaking-point over the ultra-Toryism around him—he had been frequently on the point of clearing out “and leaving them go to the devil,”—he has been living a kind of unnatural life with his family still in the East, for want of enough money to move them to Goderich—and the almost total failure of last year’s local wheat crop puzzles him to get enough money “to keep the establishment swimming,” for upwards of £200 remains out in the District due to him, but unpaid. He bewails the failure of Radicals to fight for themselves—they are unwilling to support a paper in Victoria and they have allowed the *Star* to fail in Oxford. And then there is Orangeism—“a sad monster in Society; if even the devil would be kind enough to remove it from Canada he would be entitled to a vote of thanks.”

On the 4th of February, 1852, Macqueen wrote again to Robertson and his own words will best describe another change in circumstances:

“Here I am located at the head of Burlington Bay, with the intention of assisting my friend Smiley to enlighten the denizens of the Queen City. I got tired of living in the extreme verge of civilization in Goderich, or, rather, when Cayley was ousted, my occupation, like Othello’s, was *gone*; and as the Reformers of Hamilton were a little soured with their late defeat, they very generously offered me £200 a year to come down and do the editorials of a new Reform journal. I have a guarantee of untrammelled liberty as editor, and the punctual payment of £50 a quarter, and beyond the mere editorship I have no charge and no responsibility. *The Canadian* is to be the best paper in the Province.”

The Hamilton enterprise could hardly be called successful, notwithstanding that as the months went by *The Canadian* was issued tri-weekly instead of weekly, and that by the

spring of 1854 it should issue as a daily. Early in this year, indeed, Macqueen's work on the publications had brought him prominently before the newspaper world. In February Francis Hincks offered him £250 a year to take the *Montreal Pilot*. Mr. White, the Member for Halton, guaranteed him £200 per annum to simply edit a paper at Wellington Square, and other opportunities awaited his consideration. Among these various offers Macqueen was being led again by Peter Robertson and others to come to Belleville, where the society and friendship of kindred spirits would be "very much his wish to enjoy." But all roads turned again to Goderich, and in April, 1854, Macqueen returned to the *Signal*. Goderich welcomed him with expressions of esteem from Tory and Radical alike. In the issue of April 20th the returned editor, glad to be again settled with his family, quoted with pleasure the lines of the Ettrick Shepherd.

"Your ruth or fury I disdain;
I've found my mountain lyre again."

He finds a Province vastly changed for the better in the past six years. The struggle for Canadian freedom has had the effect of placing Canada among the most prosperous countries in the world. Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, were rearing their cities and developing their commerce and their resources, while we in Canada, from the Lord Bishop and the Governor-General down to the meanest magistrate, were concentrating our energies in the gigantic enterprise of hunting down like a wild beast and endeavouring to destroy one solitary individual who had ventured to raise his voice against the rascalities and the corruption of our Canadian rulers—Robert Fleming Gourlay. Toryism has been overcome. Men like Sir Francis Hincks and John Rolph, and the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, have effected a superior administration and the rapid progress of the country clearly reflects it all. But other and heavy clouds roll ominously above the political horizon—the awful menace of religious strife—the demon of sectarian faith—monsters against which the friends of Canada must contend.

"In short the salvation of Canada depends exclusively at this moment on the total destruction of the horned beast of sectarianism which, under the guidance of the *Globe* and the member for Kent, is now stalking with brazen impudence through the length and breath of the land."

He roundly condemns "the anti-Popish furore of the *Globe*," holding also that the Brownite policy is distinctly calculated to prevent the secularization of the Clergy Reserves.

The summer of 1854 brought with it a general election, following the passing of a new Representation Act, with public issues before the electorate perhaps the most important since the days of the Union. Macqueen was chosen as the nominee of the Reform Party for the United Counties of Huron and Bruce. His address to the people contained a few sentences summarizing at once his personal views and the public issues:

"I do not promise to secularize the Clergy Reserves, nor to abolish the rectories, nor to put an end to Separate Schools, nor to abolish the Seigniorial Tenure of Lower Canada, nor to establish Reciprocal Free Trade between this Province and the United States, nor to bring about a Union of the whole North American Provinces, but I promise to assist in their accomplishment. What I call the representation of Huron is a representation of her peculiar wants, grievances and resources."

His opponent was the Honourable William Cayley, who had first entered public life in 1846, representing Huron, becoming then Inspector General in the Draper Administration with a seat in the Executive Council under the Governorship of Sir Charles Metcalfe. Cayley was re-elected again in Huron in 1848 and defeated therein 1851, an accomplishment for which Macqueen and the *Signal* might take great credit, when, also, an old friend was victorious in the person of the Hon. Malcolm Cameron, who had become President of the Council in the Hincks-Morin Administration, formed in October of that year. Cameron was also running in Lambton. The situation was a curious one. This election of 1854 saw a Reform Administration opposed by the *Globe*, which supported Mr. (later Sir John) J. A. Macdonald and Cayley. George Brown himself opposed and defeated Malcolm Cameron in

Lambton. Francis Hincks, running both in Renfrew and South Oxford won a double election. As was to be expected, Malcolm Cameron, recently the Member for the United Counties, warmly supported the Reform candidate in Huron and appealed in aid of his old friend.

“For the sake of yourselves, of your children, for the sake of human nature, rally round one of nature’s noblemen; let no paltry considerations divide you in placing Thomas Macqueen at the head of the poll.”

But all the leading Conservatives in the Upper Province were returned. All the energetic appeals of Macqueen against a stranger and for a man of Huron, against the “agency of gold and whiskey,” against Cayley as the nominee of the Canada Company, were unavailing. The Honourable William Cayley was elected by a majority of 139.

The new House held three parties—Ministerialists, Conservatives, and Advanced Reformers—the latter including the Upper Canada “Clear Grits,” led by George Brown and Lower Canada Rouges, led by A. A. Dorion. The Government having been defeated upon the election of a Speaker, immediately after the meeting of Parliament, resigned. They were succeeded in September by a Liberal-Conservative alliance under Sir Allan McNab in Upper Canada and A. N. Morin, of the Lower Province, who had been the French ally of Sir Francis Hincks, in the former Liberal Government. This was the beginning of the Liberal-Conservative party which held power almost continuously throughout the movement for Confederation and until 1873. All the leading measures supported by Macqueen and the *Signal* were now carried into legislative form by the successors in title of his old Tory enemies—a constant recurring irony in the progress of things political.

Becoming Inspector General in the new McNab-Morin Administration, the Honourable William Cayley came back to Huron for re-election as a Minister of the Crown. With some bitterness the *Signal* observes that the Government of the country is now in the hands of Mr. Cayley and his friends—an astonishing result since this party numbers only fifteen in a house of one hundred and thirty members:

“Mr. Cayley, in order to obtain a salary of £800 a year as Inspector-General, has, it is said, renounced all the principles of the party which elected him, and kicked to the winds the doctrines which he formerly preached, and he now comes back to Huron thoroughly radicalized to solicit not the votes of the Orangemen and the High Churchmen, but the votes of the Radicals and the Voluntaries.”

And when on the 5th of October an acclamation was given the new Minister on the Goderich Market Square, the situation was summarized in this way:

“Mr. Cayley is radicalized to the very core, and, more astonishing still, his followers, from the clerical cobbler up to the immaculate boot-maker mills, are all radicalized from top to toe.”

Just what life in the world now meant for Macqueen is revealed towards the close of this year by a letter written to his old friend in the County of Lanark, Sheriff Dickson, for it gathers up and expresses in a homely and familiar way the writer's hopes and fears.

“Goderich, 30th Dec., 1854.

“My dear Dickson—I am not *dead*, but am what many would call *buried*, and have, in a great measure, ceased to have correspondence with the world. Do not, however, suppose that I have turned anchorite, or that, having been converted at a “camp-meeting,” I have become a fanatic, and am wasting my days in prayer and fasting. No, no; I am exactly the same man in so far as independent thought and action are concerned. But, really, I have got heartily tired of the utter heartlessness of public men and of public life, and I find that rustivating on my own secluded farm, thinking my own thoughts, and indulging my own laziness, has more real enjoyment in it than is to be found in the bustling pursuit of the world's butterflies. In short, I am getting along tolerably, in a sort of a slovenly way, reading novels, and writing a little for the *Signal* every week, to keep my faculties from rusting. I have been talking about preparing a volume for publication, but my doubts of literary success in Canada, and the fear of not meeting with an encouragement sufficient to cover the outlay, prevent me from prosecuting the preparations with

spirit and industry. Besides, my health is very far from being what it once was. I am seriously afflicted with dyspepsia. My knee pains me almost intolerably at times, and of late I am threatened with asthma, so that altogether my spirits and energy are much duller than they used to be. Still, I try to make myself as useful and as comfortable as I can on my farm, and I flatter myself with the hope that I may yet live for a few years. However, I dare not promise myself the excursion to Bytown and the Ottawa which you kindly propose, although I feel satisfied that if all things were suitable, I would experience great pleasure from it. *But, but, but*—well, there is no help for these things. We are all the creatures or rather the *slaves* of circumstances, and I feel thankful that I have succeeded as well as I have done, all things considered. I expect to have my farm clear of all encumbrances by the first of May. It is now worth \$5,000, as land sells in this neighbourhood. I also bought, at the late sale of the public lands in this County, 800 acres for my family, on which I paid the first instalment, so that you will see I have some hope of at least being above the reach of absolute want in my old days. You mention my defeat in the election, and although I felt it a little at the moment, I assure you I was never more thankful for anything than to be saved from taking a part in the late parliamentary *humbug*. It is altogether a sad mess of trash. I have neither seen nor heard from Malcolm since the Coalition, and I hope he is fairly cured of his legislative ambition. Are you not afraid that the approaching money crisis will have a serious effect on your *slab railroad*?

Ours, after involving us in £150,000 of debt, has been completely abandoned, and I am afraid that such will be the fate of many of our Canadian Railroads. I am pleased to observe that you have been furnishing some monstrous specimens for the Paris Exhibition, which the accursed war in Russia will render a "failure." Will your official tour not send you to Huron this summer? I would like to have you for a few days, if your journeyings could drive you this way. Mrs. Macq. and family are all in good health, and doing as well as you could expect. Give my kind respects to Mrs. D. and to Isabella and Margaret. Remember me to Mr. Lees and Jessie, and to all the Pakenham members of your family. I expect to see them at their own respective places of abode before I die, and, if circumstances will permit, I might possibly venture a visit during the summer, but I dare not promise so far ahead.

Now, although I am a very lazy correspondent, or rather I never was an adept at epistolary correspondence, yet you must write occasionally, as few of your friends set more value on your friendship than

“THOS. MACQUEEN.”

“The Slab Railroad” mentioned in this letter was the Brockville and Ottawa Railway, which through many ups and downs beginning in the fifties was later completed from Brockville to Arnprior and the Ottawa River with a branch line to Perth, the first railway in the District of Bathurst, and now a part of the Canadian Pacific Railway system, and to which a brief reference has already been made. Macqueen was right again. This enterprise, like so many others of a similar kind, promoted under the impetus given in Canada by Grand Trunk construction, was financed by the creation of the Upper Canada Municipal Loan Fund, a method of financing that brought calamity and bitterness to many municipalities throughout the Province.

In August, 1855, writing a criticism of party politics and looking over his residence of thirteen years in Canada, experiencing five successive Administrations, Macqueen comes regretfully to the conclusion that they had all been overturned by the tumultuous cry of “Priest influence and French domination.” He laments the unfortunate use that both parties have made of this cry, and in respect to the years that were to follow. his words have been as true as they have been prophetic:

“The war-whoop of French Domination and Popish influence will serve as the stock-in-trade of political gamblers and adventurers for ages to come, and will be just as fresh next century as it is to-day.”

The twentieth century has unfortunately so far furnished repeated examples of what Macqueen deplotes.

In December, two years later, another election, following the reconstruction of the new Macdonald-Cartier Government, brought defeat to Cayley in Huron, where John Holmes won by a majority of 301. The *Signal* carried on a very active campaign for “plain John Holmes, a Conservative,” but “a man of your own Counties and your own class.” The

principle endorsed by Macqueen was that of having the interests of an agricultural constituency represented "by one of its own members, in preference to an imported lawyer." But Cayley could still rejoice. The District of Bathurst came to his relief, and he was elected for the County of Renfrew and continued the portfolio of Inspector-General, becoming the father of the policy of Protection to Home Industries.

On the 10th of June, 1861, a Proclamation by the Governor-General put an end to the Sixth Parliament of the United Provinces, and during the summer there was a General election. But he who had fought so unceasingly for his ideas, his friends, his party, and who took and gave many hard blows in many a controversy, electoral and other, was not destined to fight in the oncoming campaign. Still, however, his indomitable spirit called again to the electors of Huron to rally in their own interest against the traditional enemy and this time in support of one of the faithful. The editor's last message appeared in the issue of the *Signal* of June 26th, 1861. Unfailing courage, mingled with pathetic evidences of failing energy, marked the appeal. And it was indeed appropriate that to three of his Scottish friends in Huron, the fiery cross should be handed on:

"To Thomas McMichael,
James McDowell and
John McMillan, Esqs.—

"My dear friends—I will never have another opportunity to request a political favor from you, as I feel that 'I am going the way of all the earth,' and that very rapidly. It will be a lasting disgrace to the Reformers of Huron and Bruce if they allow Mr. Cayley to be returned for this constituency on the present occasion. Mr. Dickson is one of ourselves.

. . . The real question is still—"Shall we elect a Toronto lawyer or a Huron farmer?" Mr. Cayley is a decent, honourable man, but he is not the man to represent an agricultural constituency like Huron and Bruce. I am afraid I will not be able to see you. Should I recover I will pay you a visit; if not, I hope you will endeavour to save the credit of the constituency by voting for Mr. Dickson."

Nor was the appeal in vain; but the success of the election in the course of two or three weeks was saddened by the loss of the bonniest fighter of them all. For on the 25th of June, the day before the letter appeared in the *Signal*, Thomas Macqueen had gone beyond the bourne.

As one who occupied a considerable place in the public eye, it was to be expected that positions of honour and trust, especially in a young and unformed community, might have been offered him; and so it was. But Macqueen was far from being an officer-seeker. In July, 1849, he was appointed Clerk of the Huron District Court and Registrar of the Surrogate Court—posts which were resigned on his removal to Hamilton in 1852. Otherwise some simple office in a Temperance Society, or the District Agricultural Society, which he did much to foster, conclude his activities in these directions. But the public platform and the editorial chair made each its full demand, and generously did Macqueen on all occasions answer what he felt to be the call of an imperative duty. He had an abiding faith in education, and, in season and out, strove with all his might to impress its value upon the minds especially of all his younger friends. Some sentences from a lecture on "The Judicious Employment of Youth," delivered in the Mechanics' Institute at Goderich on November 22nd, 1855, offer a characteristic example of Macqueen's method and style:

"Rejoice, O, young men in thy youth, and let thy heart cheer thee in the days of thy youth. There is a living energy—an exuberance of soul, a restless, irrepressible vitality in youth, that must act. And if it cannot be trained and nurtured and coaxed and guided to act in the straightforward paths of prudence and moral rectitude, it will go zigzag in every direction, and the inevitable results of its deviations and misadventures will be sad regrets, early wrinkles and the premature arrival of those years in which we shall say we have no pleasure in them."

"Books contain all that is worth knowing and the man who can read the English language and understand it, need not complain of a want of education or a want of knowledge. He is in possession of the tools, if he only chooses to use them. Therefore I say read, read, read, the right class of books, and

you will soon be educated. Yes, young men and young women, yours are the privileges if you only choose to employ them—privileges calculated to expand and enlighten your minds with a facility to which your fathers were entire strangers. There were no Mechanics' Institutes in my young days. I was twenty-two years of age when Henry Broughman and Dr. Birchbeck commenced the London Institute, and it was some years afterwards before any were established in Scotland. Even at this day there is scarcely such a thing to be found in villages like Goderich. There were few circulating libraries in small towns forty years ago. Cheap literature had not then made its appearance; books were dear and were among the luxuries of the wealthy; because money was scarce with the multitude and their appetite for reading was by no means troublesome. The newspaper was also a luxury and was costly—every paper having to pay four pence of duty and being sold at sevenpence halfpenny sterling. The working man's library consisted of the Bible, the Confession of Faith, the A.B.C. and 'the Shorter Catechism,' the 'Crook in the Lot,' Boston's Fourfold State, and Wilson's 'Afflicted Man's Companion.' There were even no popular lecturers in these days. I must have been at least twenty years of age before I ever heard a lecture on any other subject than divinity. Our school-books were chiefly the Bible and the Catechisms. Our school-houses (I speak of country places) were in general little low thatched huts with two small windows, of which every second pane was filled with an old hat or slate. Our schoolmasters were either irritable, decrepit and deformed objects, or ignorant, ill-natured old men, who sat chewing tobacco and knitting a stocking in the corner nearest the fire; and whose chief employment seemed to consist in a liberal use of the tawse. In short, the education of the people was considered a matter of secondary consideration and was a very sorry affair indeed. The schoolmaster had not then gone abroad."

And in the half rhapsodic spirit of the Scottish seer, the lecturer closes with a declaration of the old fashioned Scotchman's abiding faith and trust in Jehovah.

"Alike discoverable in the torrid zone and in the frozen regions of Nova-Zembla; on the lofty summits of the Himalayas, and in the deep dark glens of Scotland—it is all-wheres existing

legibly engraven on every leaf and page and line and letter of the stupendous volume of nature, proclaiming in accents suited to every capacity that the Great Incomprehensible Spirit of the Universe is one universal Father,

“Who sees with equal eye, 'as God of all,
A hero perish and a sparrow fall.”

From time to time Thomas Macqueen laid aside his controversial armour and settled into purely literary effort, not always in the form of poetry. We to-day turn with delight and a real spiritual satisfaction to the lines of “Gray's Elegy,” exquisitely beautiful as they are, alike in thought and in expression. And so Macqueen may be forgiven if his most effective, most picturesque, most appealing literary essay finds its setting and the presentation of its charm in such an otherwise gloomy, and for most of us forbidding, place as “The Churchyard.”

“I love to wander in the lone churchyard when the pale moonbeams fall in deep silence on the tombstones. There is a sacredness, a sanctity in the land of graves which rests not on other portions of the soil. Even in my boyhood, ere yet the dream of childish superstition had been broken by earth's realities, ere guilt or gray hairs mingled with my life, I used to roam by moonlight through the mounds of kindred and acquaintance who mouldered in a dreary burial ground remote from town. And as I gazed on the luxuriant grass that waved o'er her, who in my infant hours sung love's sweet lullaby, I felt as if I occupied the world alone; but these strange feelings passed away and are remembered only as the first of griefs. Years have rolled o'er me, and upon my form have left their traces visible and sad. But still I love to wander in the churchyard. Great empire of the dead! There is a solemn *solitude* in Thee! Yet thou calledst forth a world of living thoughts. The memories of the past flock around me and I feel as though I lived in seasons long gone by. My childhood's mates, companions of my youth, and some who even in manhood's riper years endowed me with the friendship of their souls, pass all before me, and I see their characters of light and shade; nay, even the sacred forms of those who led my infant steps aright, come up to me and I gaze and think. Anon, my thoughts light on the distant graves, where the

bones of many who were once dear to me moulder to dust beneath the hoary ash and elm in a dreary Scotch churchyard. The moonbeams brighten, and the shadow of the sumach falls darkly on the pale rails that fence this cemetery, and flings gloom upon the hallowed spot. The white slabs of wood or marble, reared by fond affection as the frail and simple records of departed friends, shine whiter in the silvery light, and bring again the dream of childhood's ghosts.

"But times have changed. The world has grown so wicked, or so wise, that those who die return no more to mingle in its madness or to tell strange tales of horror from another world. All, all is tranquil. Not an atom stirs save the small rustle of the sumach's leaves or the clicking motion of the grasshopper, waked from its sleep by my untimely tread. The hoary sage who marked with anguished soul for threescore years the wickedness of man; the pious, prayerful saint; the proud blasphemer; the man of glorious hope who lived and died rejoicing in the faith that mankind would turn wise; the sneaking scoundrel who lived by stealth; the drunkard who disowned alike the honour of his God and his own dignity; the puppy and the prude; the matron of a thousand hopes and fears; the lovely virgin blushing in her teens; the adored and only son whose sudden death flung blighting mildew o'er the brightest hopes—all sleep alike the dreamless sleep of death. All moulder mutely as the senseless shroud or coffins that contain their ashes. Here ends our knowledge; here the curtain falls, all that we know of frail humanity, its virtues and its vices sink in the darkness of these mounds of earth, while faith and fancy roam through other worlds. This is the equal, universal doom, designed to teach humility to man, and, ah! how few improve the lesson. We live and toil for gewgaws; strut and boast, cheat, swindle, grasp the world; oppress and hate each other; quarrel and fight; augment our misery in our search for bliss; talk big as though we were eternal things of earth, and, chasing greatness, fall to feed the worms! Astounding mystery! Faithful, but unheeded, monitor that speaketh with the same fidelity to all! Fearless, honest, grave! Thou hast been preaching fervently to man for many ages. In all times and climes, even where foot of missionary never trod, thou hast proclaimed the end of human pride. Thou hast not fawned or flattered in the ear of earthly arrogance; to king and slave thou speakest the naked truth. And though ambition decorate

thee o'er with polished marble or more costly gold, yet in the unsophisticated heart thou tell'st the tale of loathsome dust and worms! And thine is not the argument of speech; thou dealest not in rhetoric and theories; thy logic lies in action, in palpable experiment and substantial practice. Though living mankind mustered in a host and cried exultingly "we live," thou could'st outnumber them a thousandfold, and, pointing to thy vast majority, cry out triumphantly 'they died.'

"A cloud comes o'er the splendour of the moon and the stars brighten in her obscurity. Good-night, ye stranger dead! I never knew you, but I know ye lived and felt and thought and loved like me—and more, I know I shall be one of you. A few short, rolling years shall call me from this busy, bustling life and few but strangers shall behold my grave. The world will just go bustling as before, but I shall sleep as soundly and shall bear the footstep of the wanderer on my head as calmly and as unconsciously as ye do now. Good-night."

Reference has already been made to the fact that in Macqueen's later life, and in the editorial chair, controversy displaced poetry. However true in the main this may be, yet the files of the *Signal* contain some lines showing that the bard has not wholly lost the power of awakening his lyre.

In the year of his coming to Goderich, and while yet he was battling to establish the newspaper against rather heavy odds, a somewhat characteristic little poem appeared in the 37th number of the first volume of the *Signal*, entitled:

"MY BIRTHDAY

"And I have lived to see and hail
Another ninth day of October,
To re-peruse life's chequered tale,
With ruminations calm and sober.
This is the five and fortieth time
My natal day has deigned to trace me,
And now, within a far, strange clime,
The shadows of the past embrace me.

"The past is gone; and yet its dreams
Are fondly fluttering before me;
Its joys; and loves; and friendships' gleams,
Like Northern Lights, are flitting o'er me.

Anon a dark and gloomy cloud
Comes o'er the sunshine of my gladness,
And young love's tomb and friendship's shroud
Surround me with the pall of sadness.

"The memories of my own lov'd land,
The spirits of youth's joyful morning,
The bounding heart, the helping hand,
Affection's matron tones of warning;
The hill, the glen, the stream, the grove,
The moonlit eve, the virgin blushes,
The vow, the kiss, the dream of love—
One mournful week before me rushes.

"I've liv'd and lov'd and hop'd and sigh'd;
I've borne the buffetings of passion;
Have bought with folly and defied
The frowns and sneers of giddy fashion.
My head is grey, but not with years—
'Tis silvered o'er with toil and sorrow.
Regret, deep thought, and griefs and fears
Have wreath'd my brow with many a furrow.

"I have not cringed before the proud
I've braved the bigot and oppressor;
I've scorned the vices of the crowd
And dared the haughty, bold aggressor.
The frown of wealth, the sneer of pride,
May greet me, but can ne'er undo me;
My poverty grows side by side,
And, like my age, clings closer to me.

"And yet I'm gay—I feel alive;
My heart is full of faith and feeling—
Almost as warm at forty-five
As when youth's passions all were thrilling;
And true hearts love me, and the hand
Of holy friendship still is near me,
While voices from my own loved land
At intervals are sent to cheer me.

"Tis true, youth's hallowed scenes are gone,
And youth itself is gone for ever;
And fancy hears sweet Garnock's tone
In murmurs of the Maitland river;

My country's accents still I hear,
And while these birthday musings gather
I'll pay, on each returning year,
A tribute to the Land of Heather."

Macqueen continued to keep in touch by a more or less regular correspondence with his old Pakenham friend, Sheriff Dickson. Soon after his arrival in 1842 he had become an intimate friend of the Sheriff's family. Here and there are to be found many little bits of verse addressed to some of the Sheriff's children, and particularly to Isabella, afterwards the wife by his first marriage of one of Pakenham's early physicians, Dr. John Sweetland, who in later years became the Sheriff of the County of Carleton. It is through the kindly interest of a daughter of Mrs. Sweetland, Mrs. Elizabeth Thompson, of Niagara-on-the-Lake, that these references are made possible.

"ISABELLA DICKSON"

"I dreamt of thee—'twas a lovely dream,
Sweet as the last hope's sacred gleam.
Artless and gleeful, I saw thee play,
Breasting the sweets of thy childhood's day,
Emblem of mirth and innocent life,
Laughing aloud mid the cold world's strife.
Long, long I gazed—'twas a happy gaze
Abroad on the brightness of other days.

"Dear Girl! the dream of my youth is o'er;
I can dream of beauty and love no more.
Calm, sober and sad—my visions, alas,
Keep pace with the sorrows that o'er me pass.
Still, still I can think of thy hours of glee,
Nor cease I to hope they still linger with thee.

"*Goderich*, 1st August, 1848."

"Yes, Isabella, I have changed
Since last we met!—but this is common
I have grown old and careworn, too
And thou hast grown a full, fair woman;
But still our *friendship* is the same—
The sacred ties are yet unbroken;
The love that loved thee when a child
Presents thee with this feeble token.

"*Hamilton*, 2nd May, 1853."

In the sixties and onward, till comparatively recent years, it was the custom for newspapers in the towns and villages to issue at New Year's the "Carrier Boy's Address." for the most part, in these attempts at poetry, for they were frequently hardly even that, the editor offered his thanks for past favors, asked for new ones, and sometimes reviewed passing events of local happenings or persons. This poetry was generally poor in quality and worse in style. Frequently it became downright drivel or degenerate doggerel. Seldom, indeed, did it deserve the name. And to add to the desolation of it all, the "Address" sometimes occupied a considerable part of the front page of the paper. The *Signal* Carrier's New Year's Address, in its issue of January 3rd, 1850, is, as compared with the practice just described, a model of brevity and appropriateness. The custom has gone, like many others of "the good old days," but if Macqueen's quality could be hoped for, the custom might yet be revived with the general reader's ready acceptance:

"My patron friends, I wish you all
A good New Year and health and joy,
That when I make my weekly call
At peasant's cot or rich man's hall,
Your welcome smiles may sweetly fall
Like sunshine on the Carrier Boy.

"Another year has closed its race;
Another year has just begun.
I may not venture here to trace
Why good and ill each other chase,
And jointly fill the measured space
That boys and men are doomed to run.

"'Tis just enough to know that we,
Like all who ever went before,
Are destined to enjoy and dree,
To live, love, change and disagree
And lastly die—yes, die and be
Remembered in this world no more.

"I only know that lane and street
From week to week I duly roam,
And oft with drench'd and weary feet
I bring my little welcome sheet,
That helps to cheer the reader's home.

"'Tis true—and truth wears no disguise—
I sometimes loiter and delay;
But now, that ye are old and wise,
Remember ye were little boys,
And loved your foibles and your toys,
Your pastime and your play.

"I wish you all a lengthen'd lease
Of life's most joyous, happy scene.
I hope my patrons may increase,
And may the *Signal* never cease
To stand for freedom, justice, peace,
Our country, Huron and our Queen."

Macqueen appeared to have constantly in mind the building of a native Canadian literature, including Canadian poetry. In one of his editorials he closed the subject with the earnest appeal, "Will nobody write a few songs for Canada?" His life in the country was comparatively short. His own efforts were circumscribed sharply by the need of attending to the daily round and the common task. There is little to describe Canadian life or Canadian scenery. One would have thought that Macqueen's evident love of nature might have led him, even while he lived in the District of Bathurst, to attempt some interpretation of the really beautiful and diversified natural scenery so lavishly laid about on every hand, so rich and fresh as it was in this day and before the lumberer and the homesteader had completed his ruthless destruction of the woodlands. Only one example of the kind seems to have survived. Macqueen's life began on the banks of Lake Huron in Canada and just as he offered homage to the Garnock, so here too his verses sing about "Our own broad lake:"

"We cannot boast of high green hills,
Of proud bold cliffs where eagles gather;
Of moorland glen and mountain rills
That echo to the red-bell'd heather;
We cannot boast of mouldering towers,

Where ivy clasps the hoary turret,
Of chivalry in ladies' bowers,
Of warlike fame, and knights who won it—
But had we minstrel's harp to wake
We well might boast our own broad lake!

“And we have streams that run as clear,
O'er shelvy rocks and pebbles rushing,
And meads as green, and nymphs as dear,
In rosy beauty sweetly blushing.
And we have trees as tall as towers,
And older than the feudal mansion,
And banks besprent with gorgeous flowers,
And glens and woods with fireflies glancing;
But prouder, loftier boast we make—
The beauties of our own broad lake.

“I cannot feel as I have felt
When life with hope and fire was teeming,
Nor kneel, as I have often knelt,
At beauty's shrine, devoutly dreaming.
Some younger hand must strike the string
To tell of Huron's awful grandeur;
Her smooth and moonlight slumbering,
Her tempest voices loud as thunder;
Some loftier lyre than mine must wake
To sing our own broad, gleaming lake!”

This sketch began with observations upon some correspondence between Macqueen and his friend in Scotland, James Crawford, of Caldwell Hall, in the parish of Beith in Ayrshire. In November, 1850, this friend had died, and “an Elegy” represents, in the Scotsman's true language of emotion, the faithful friendship toward “The comrade of life's mornin'.”

“A gloom fa's on my spirit,
Cauld as the timeless tomb,
An' hauf my life seems sinkin'
In that mirk and weary gloom.
A listlessness comes owre me
Like the snawie hand o' age,

Pioneer Sketches in the District of Bathurst

As silently I ponder
On the rueful, tiny page;
An' as I read the tidin's drear
Uncheck'd shall fa' the honest tear.

"The comrade o' life's mornin',
Sae fu' o' freaks and whims;
The trusty frien' o' manhood
Wi' its visions an' its dreams;
The frien' o' frien's in sorrow,
In sunshine an' in gloom,
My leal, kind-hearted Crawford
Is mouldrin' in the tomb!

"I may grow auld and doited,
Be clad in poorith's weeds;
I may forget my kindred,
My kintra and her deeds;
I may turn dead to friendship,
An' deaf to sorrow's wail;
My sympathies may lea' me.
My memorie may fail—
But Death alone can wipe awa'
My dear remembrance o' the Ha'."

Immediately upon Macqueen's death a local committee, composed of the County Judge, the Sheriff, the Mayor of Goderich and other leading citizens of Huron, proceeded to arrange for the erection of a suitable memorial and to ask subscriptions from all alike, ignoring parties and politics, resolving

"That the great talents and attainments of the late Thomas Macqueen, and the earnestness and ability with which he so long laboured to promote the general interests of these Counties, claim for his memory the gratitude and respect of this community, irrespective of party."

There is no report of the result, except this—that in calling for a final return from all those disposed to contribute to the Memorial Fund, in January, 1862:

"The Central Committee, in response to the wishes of the friends and admirers of the late Thomas Macqueen, have resolved to devote the proceeds of the general subscription to the Goderich Cemetery."

William Bannatyne, of Ashfield, a friend in the Huron District, whose poems also appeared occasionally in the columns of the *Signal*, frequently offering lines of unexpected grace and beauty, and whose "In Memoriam" took the form of a rather extended Elegy, may be allowed to draw the veil.

"Beneath those branching boughs, whose deepening shade
Looms o'er yon calm, sepulchral scene,
I mark the mound beneath whose sod is laid
The Sage, the Patriot and the Bard, Macqueen."

NOTES

The numbers preceding the Notes following, correspond with small type figures appearing on various pages throughout the letterpress preceding.

PERTH-ON-THE-TAY.

1. REV. WILLIAM BELL, M.A. Born in Airdrie, Scotland, 1780—Master Rothesay Grammar School, 1812-1815. Ordained, March 4th, 1817, by the Associate Presbytery of Edinburgh as Minister to the Scottish settlers at Perth, U.C., the earliest in this field. For years an untiring Missionary among the Military Settlements on the Rideau and the surrounding Country. His descendants have been prominent in the business and professional life of the Country. Died, August, 1857.
2. HENRY, THIRD EARL OF BATHURST, 1762 to 1834—M.P. for Cirencester, 1783 to 1794. Held various important posts under William Pitt. Secretary for War and the Colonies under Lord Liverpool, 1812 to 1827. Lord President of the Council under Wellington, 1828 to 1830. Strongly opposed Reform Bill, 1832.
3. SIR GEORGE PREVOST (1767-1816). Born in New York. First saw service in the West Indies. 1803 a Baronet and Major-General. Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, 1808-1811. Governor-General of Canada and Commander of the Forces in British North America, July 15, 1812, to April 4, 1815. In his Civil Administration he met the beginning of the long conflict between the official and the popular party on the one hand and on the other a rapidly developing dissension between races and creeds, which, added together, culminated in the Rebellion of 1837.
4. Dominion Archives—L.C. series G. p. 6.
5. SIR GORDON DRUMMOND (1771-1854). Born at Quebec. Son of Colin Drummond. For a time Deputy-Paymaster-General of the Forces. Served in Netherlands, West Indies, Egypt and Ireland. Returned to Canada, 1813. Second in Command to Sir George Prevost. Prominent in War, 1812 to 1814. Left Canada, May 1816, and died in London with rank of Lieutenant-General and a G.C.B. Administrator of the Government of Canada after the departure of Sir George Prevost from April 4, 1815, to May 18, 1816, the year during which the Perth settlers were emigrating and coming to their Canadian home.
6. Dominion Archives, Q-127, p. 169.
7. *Ibid.*, Page 12.
8. *Ibid.*, C. 621, p. 10.
9. *Ibid.*, Q. 135, p. 80.
10. *Ibid.*, Q. 328, p. 143.
11. *Ibid.*, Q. 135, p. 106.

12. *Ibid.*, Q. 135, p. 114.
13. *Ibid.*, Q. 135, p. 197.
14. *Ibid.*, Q. 135, p. 168.
15. *Ibid.*, Q. 135, p. 87.
16. *Ibid.*, Q. 135, p. 183.
17. *Ibid.*, Q. 135, p. 189.
18. *Ibid.*, Q. 135, p. 191.
19. *Ibid.*, Q. 135, p. 91.
20. Bell's "Hints to Emigrants,"—Letter X.
21. SIR SIDNEY BECKWITH (1772-1831). Son of Major General John Beckwith, Colonel, 20th Regiment, Lancashire Fusileers. In 1791 he entered 71st Regiment, serving in India and elsewhere. A favorite officer under Sir John Moore and saw much fighting in the Peninsular Campaigns. In 1812 came to Canada as Assistant Quarter-Master-General and took part in the War, 1812-1814. Became Commander-in-Chief at Bombay in 1829 and died in 1831 at Mahableshevar.
22. Dominion Archives, C. 621, p. 103.
23. *Ibid.*, Q. 133, p. 266.
24. *Ibid.*, Q. 133, p. 268.
25. *Ibid.*, Q. 133, p. 270.
26. HON. FRANCIS GORE (1769-1852). Born at Blackheath in Kent. In the Army from the time of leaving school till retirement in 1802, having served in Portugal and elsewhere on the Continent. Governor of Bermuda, 1804. Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, August 25, 1806. It was a time of much discontent in the Province, resulting in complaints to the Home Government against the Governor's actions. In the Autumn of 1813 Gore proceeded to England to meet his accusers. During his absence Sir Isaac Brock, R. H. Sheaffe, Baron de Rottenburg and Gordon Drummond acted as Administrators and from April 25th to September 21st Sir George Murray and Sir Frederick Robinson were successively Provisional Lieutenant-Governors. Gore returned in September, 1815, and continued in office until January, 1818, when he went again to England and later into retirement until his death.
27. Dominion Archives, Q. 320, p. 34.
28. *Ibid.*, Q. 320, p. 34.
29. *Ibid.*, Q. 320, p. 45.
30. SIR FREDERICK PHIPP ROBINSON, G.C.B. Son of Col. Beverly Robinson of New York and of the same family connection as Sir John Beverly Robinson, C.J. Served in West Indies. Commander-in-Chief of the Forces and Administrator of the Government of Upper Canada, July 1, to September 21, 1815. On leaving Canada he was Knighted. In 1846 promoted to rank of Lieutenant-General and died at Brighton, England, in 1852.
31. Dominion Archives, U.C. Sundries, July 17, 1815.

32. Ibid., U.C. Sundries, July 25, 1815.
33. Ibid., U.C. Sundries, Aug. 13, 1815.
34. Ibid., U.C. Sundries, Aug. 24, 1815.
35. Ibid., U.C. Sundries, Dec. 28, 1815.
36. Ibid., U.C. Sundries, March 12, 1816.
37. Ibid., U.C. Sundries, March 22, 1816.
38. Ibid., U.C. Sundries, March 25, 1816.
39. Leavitt's "History of Leeds and Grenville," pp. 70, 71.
40. Dominion Archives, U.C. Sundries, May 14, 1816.
41. Ibid., Annual Report, 1896, p. 167.
42. Ibid., Q. 322, p. 12, Enclosure No. 4.
43. Ibid., U.C. Sundries, Jan. 18, 1816.
44. Ibid., U.C. Sundries, May 14, 1816.
45. SIR JOHN COAPE SHERBROOKE (1760-1830). Born in Nottinghamshire, and having entered the Army was engaged in active service in almost every quarter of the Globe, ending under Wellington in the Peninsula. Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, Oct. 16, 1811, to June 27, 1816, when he returned to England. Continued in the Army assuming the rank of General in 1825, dying at Claverton, in his native County, February 14, 1830.
46. Dominion Archives, Q. 167A., p. 1.
47. Ibid., Q. 137, p. 259.

RICHMOND AND THE DUKE.

1. Dominion Archives, Q. 167-A., p. 1.
2. Ibid., C. 623, p. 106.
3. PHILEMON WRIGHT (1760-1839). The fifth and youngest son of Thomas Wright, a Kentishman who settled in Woburn, Mass., twenty miles from Boston, where Philemon was born. Visited the Ottawa River Country, 1796-1797-1798, and finally founded a settlement in 1800 in the Township of Hull. An extensive farmer and projector of some of the greatest improvements on the Ottawa. Familiarly referred to as "The White Chief of the Ottawa," and, in later years, his son Alonzo, as an extensive lumberman, "The King of the Gatineau."
4. *Ottawa Journal*, June 27, 1818.
5. Dominion Archives, C. 624, p. 80.
6. Ibid., C. 624, p. 83.
7. Ibid., Q. 152, p. 6, Enclosure No. 1, p. 7.
8. Case and his Contemporaries, Vol. II, p. 425.
9. Niagara Historical Society, Publication No. 14, p. 27.
10. *Montreal Herald*, Oct. 9, 1819.

11. Dominion Archives, Q. 153, p. 346.
12. Ibid., Pamphlet No. 756.

LANARK-ON-THE-CLYDE.

1. House of Commons Debates, Dec. 16, 1819.
2. Ibid., June 7, 1820.
3. Dominion Archives, C. 625, p. 211.
4. DALHOUSIE, GEORGE RAMSAY, NINTH EARL OF DALHOUSIE (1770-1838). Of ancient Scottish lineage, the Ramsays of Dalhousie since the middle of the twelfth Century have been distinguished in the Lothians and Teviotdale. The earldom was first created in 1633. In 1815 the Ninth Earl became Baron Dalhousie in the peerage of the United Kingdom—entering the army at an early age he served in various parts of the world—1812-1814 in command of the 7th division in France and Spain. Thanked by Parliament for his services as one of Wellington's Generals at Waterloo. 1816-1819 Governor-General of Nova Scotia. 1819-1828 Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of British North America. 1829-1832 Commander-in-Chief in the East Indies. Died at Dalhousie Castle 1838, after living in retirement for six years.
5. Dominion Archives, Q. 155, p. 335.
6. Ibid., Q. 625, pp. 179-191.
7. Ibid., Dalhousie Papers, Sept., 1820.
8. Report on Emigration, March, 1828, pp. 164 et. sqq.
9. Ibid.
10. Dominion Archives, Pamphlet on Rise and Progress of Emigration—R. Lamond.
11. Ibid., Q. 167-A., p. 6.
12. Ibid., Q. 167-A., Return.
13. Ibid., Lamond's Pamphlet.
14. Ibid., G. 11, p. 235.
15. Ibid., Q. 159, p. 510.
16. Ibid., Pamphlet, Jno. McDonald, 8th Ed., 1826.
17. *Bathurst Courier*, Nov. 30. 1860.
18. Dominion Archives, Q. 379, p. 426.
19. Emigration Report, 1826.
20. Dominion Archives, Q. 345, p. 219.
21. Ibid., Q. 172, p. 407.
22. SIR JOHN COLBORNE (1778-1863). First Baron Seaton. Born Syndhurst, Hants. Entered 20th Lancashire Fusileers, winning all his promotions on merit. Saw service in Egypt and under Moore in the Corunna Campaign. Played brilliant part at Waterloo, when in

Command of the 52nd he led the rout of the old guard of Napoleon. Major-General, 1825, and soon after Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey. Upon recall of Maitland, 1828, Colborne became Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, continuing until November, 1835, but continuing in office until early in 1836. Marked by the struggles between the Family Compact and the Popular Party. In early and late months of 1838 was Administrator of the Government of Canada and Governor-in-Chief from January to October, 1839. Returning he was raised to the Peerage as Baron Seaton of Seaton in Devonshire. 1843 to 1849 High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. 1855-1860 Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. Died at Torquay.

23. SPRING RICE (1790-1866). Came of a Limerick family 1820, Whig M.P. for Limerick. 1832, M.P. for Cambridge. 1834, Secretary for War and the Colonies. 1835-1839, Chancellor of the Exchange. 1839, created Baron Monteagle of Brandon.
24. Dominion Archives, Q. 385, p. 3—Rankin's Report.
24. Ibid., Q. 388, p. 116.

THE BALLYGHIBLINS.

1. Dominion Archives, U.C. Sundries, Oct. 23, 1822.
2. Annual Register, 1820, p. 78.
3. Lord Lansdowne in House of Commons Debates, June 14, 1822.
4. Ibid.
5. Emigration Report, p. 144.
6. Dominion Archives, C. 628, p. 89.
7. Ibid., C. 628, p. 87.
8. Emigration Report, p. 330.
9. From papers of Peter Robinson by Mr. F. H. Dobbin, of Peterboro, Ont., printed in local newspapers, November, 1923.
10. Emigration Report, p. 217.
11. Ibid., p. 330.
12. Robinson Papers—F. H. Dobbin's report.
13. Emigration Report, evidence of P. Robinson, p. 330.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid.
16. Dominion Archives, p. 336, Pt. 1.
17. *Quebec Mercury*, June 22, 1824.
18. *Montreal Herald*, September 8, 1824.
19. Dominion Archives, Q. 340, pp. 507-517.
20. Statements of Settlers contained in a letter of Col. Francis Cockburn to Hon. R. W. Horton, Sept. 17, 1827.

AN OLD LIBRARY.

1. From a sketch of the Dalhousie Library, written by Rev. Jas. A. Leitch and published in the *Lanark Era*, Nov. 20, 1901.
2. Quoted in Canon Mockridge's "The Bishops of the Church of England in Canada and Newfoundland," p. 51.
3. *Bathurst Courier*, March 15, 1861, reprint of Letters in the *Montreal Gazette*.
4. Personal interview given by Mr. James Park of Watson's Corners.
5. }
6. } Dominion Archives—Dalhousie Papers.
7. }
8. *Lanark Era*, Nov. 20, 1901.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. The original letter is preserved in the Library at Watson's Corners.
12. From an old Minute Book at Watson's Corners.

ANDREW DICKSON—SHERIFF.

1. *Almonte Gazette*, April 6, 1894.
2. *Bathurst Courier*, Jan. 17, 1840.
3. Ibid., Feb. 8, 1842.
4. "The first soiree" in Pakenham, *Almonte Gazette*, Dec. 27, 1895.
5. *Bathurst Courier*, April, 1847.
6. Printed as a pamphlet, "Facts and Particulars relating to the case of Morris v. Cameron," *Gazette* office, Montreal, 1845.
7. Dominion Archives.

THOMAS MACQUEEN.

1. Except where quotations are made from his own published poems, the references throughout are generally from the *Bathurst Courier*, while Macqueen lived in Fitzroy, and otherwise the material is taken from the earlier files of the *Goderich Signal* which has lately been discovered and is for the present in the Dominion Archives office at Ottawa.

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